

PROCESSING COPY

STAT

10 April 1958

RURAL SETTLEMENT AND AGRICULTURE IN SAXONY

STAT

STAT

Rural Settlements and Agriculture in Saxony

Landliche Siedlung und Agrarwesen in Sachsen
 /Rural Settlement and Agriculture in Saxony/
 Publisher: Verlag der
 Bundesanstalt fuer Lan-
 deskunde (Federal Topo-
 graphical Institute)Re-
 magen on Rhine, 1953

by Rudolf Köttschke

Table of Contents

Preface of the Editor	3
Introduction: The Field Map as a Source of Research on the History of Agriculture. The Project of a Saxonian Field Map Atlas	6
I. The Development of Land Registers and Field Maps in Saxony	25
II. Introduction into the Historic Apprecia- tion of Village and Field Area Patterns .	79
1. The Epochs of Colonization	79
2. The Agrarian Constitution	116
a) The Units of Rural Settlements and the Economic Units in Rural Areas .	116
b) Manors and Peasant Farms. The Econ- omic-Social Strata of the Working Population in Rural Areas	134
c) Land-Taxes; the Saxonian Peasant Liberation	168

3. Family and Right of Property; Rural Tradition; Compact and free Divisibility of the Estates	191
4. The Organization of the Fields and the Field Economy	206
a) Unit Size of the Field; the Field Dimensions	207
b) Types of Cultivation	232
III. The Basic Shapes of the Settlements	245
1. The Village Layout	246
a) Yard and House in the Village Picture	246
b) The Different Types of the Village Layout. ,	252
2. The Field Pattern	268
a) The Idea of the Field; the Size and Boundaries	268
b) The Location of the Different Types of Cultures	273
c) The Division of the Field Areas according to Property Parcels	274
d) The Field Area Names	292
3. The Types of Localities and Field Areas and their Relationship toward each other; the historic Origin of the Settlements Types	298
List of Field Maps	312
Remarks on the attached Field Maps	314

Preface of the Editor

Exactly fifty years ago, on December 11, 1902, after several attempts which had been made in the past, the scientific work on the topographical sketch maps which had been plotted during the great surveying of Saxony from 1835 to 1843, was taken up in earnest. The Saxonian Commission for History instructed Rudolf Koetzschke to do the job. The plan which was carefully thought over, was started, but its development was not favorable. It is true, Koetzschke pushed the plan with all his energy for decades; the results of his intensive studies were of benefit to the perfection of the manifold research methods from which the work emerged and gradually took shape; the "Saxonian Field Map Atlas" was published. At that time the scientists were accustomed to work mainly with the written sources which were available from olden times; the value of cartographic presentation of recent data for the insight into historic developments had to be established first. This, in turn, necessitated the support from the neighboring fields of sciences which, as for instance prehistoric sciences, folklore and the research into names, were themselves not sufficiently supported at the time of the beginning of the plan; their sources had to be opened up, examined and tested first. In this way the slow progress made on the "Saxonian Field Map Atlas" can be explained in terms of the development of research at that time; in later years the plan rested on Koetzschke's shoulders alone; during world war 1 and during the inflation it was not possible at all to continue the work. The finally attained conclusion of the plan coincided with the out-

break of world war 2; during the war the irreplaceable collections which were a result of the preparatory work, the manuscript and the just finished set of the descriptive part were destroyed at the end of 1943. Only fragments were saved. Koetzschke did not put up with the destruction of his life-work with an attitude of resignation. Soon he began to put down the historic introduction for the entire work from memory; this introduction was then preceded by a report on the developments in connection with the work. This new version is published here. It was not possible to restaure the second part which, on the basis of very special source studies, was to interpret the work with the help of a series of field maps and individual examples.

The text before us was almost completed at the time, when Rudolf Koetzschke deceased on August 3, 1949. But it had to be edited; on some passages it had to be worded more clearly, because for the time being explanations on the special second part cannot be expected. The number of quotations was greatly increased; this applies mainly to material which so far is known only to a few persons or only to Koetzschke. This research work was done in fall 1950 by the editor who spent some time at the archives in Dresden. For supplementary work we are indebted to the Land Registrar Dr. K. H. Blaschke. The attached sketches of field maps were partly selected on the basis of papers from Koetzschke, and partly selected by the editor and signed by H. Tode at Marburg. They are intended to illustrate the various shapes of fields and villages; they give the village plan, the names of the various types of cultures and the division into field parcels; only in a few cases they give the entries made in regard to property ownership, because for the individual examples it was not possible to study the land registers.

We are also indebted to the Central Committee for German Topography with Prof.Dr.Th.Kraus as chairman who made it possible to accept the work as part of the series on "Research on German Topography", and to the Johann Gottfried Herder Research Council under the presidency of Prof.Dr.H. Aubin which made possible the financial support for the printing.

We have also to thank the Director of the German Institute for Ethnography in Leipzig, Prof.Dr.Edgar Lehmann who showed continuous and active interest for the work, even when he was no longer in a position to attend to its publication, and the Director of the Federal Institute for Topography, Prof.Dr.Emil Meynen, for the help he has given during the printing.

Herbert Helbig

Berlin, Dec.11,1952.

Introduction

The Field Map as a Source of Research on the History of Agriculture.

The Project of a Saxonian field map atlas.

The characteristic differences of the shapes of rural settlements in Saxony have attracted the attention of scientists and artists already during the past century. In his reminiscences Ludwig Richter who looked at the landscape of his home country with the eyes of an artist, tells us that when he was a drawing teacher at Meissen, he urged his students to pay attention to the characteristics of the village picture. At the same time science took up the interpretation of these differences. G. Hanssen, the pioneering German specialist in agrarian history who had studied the topographical conditions in Slevig-Holstein, became a representative of the science of national economics in Leipzig (1842-48); in those years V. Jacobi who also taught at the Leipzig Academy, wrote on his research on the agriculture of the Altenburg Osterland (1845); in this work he showed ways to a new formulation of the problem and to a new conception. On the basis of individual field maps which were reproduced he pointed out the differences between the village and field plans and explained them in connection with the particularities of the shape of the terrain and the type of soil prevailing, the conditions under which it was formed in regard to the various periods of time and the type of economy prevailing, but also particularly in terms of the genealogy of the inhabitants; in regard to the latter a difference was made between Germans and Slavs, but also between German tribes, Thuringians and Franconians. Although the area un-

der study was relatively small, all the possible momentums of explanation have been covered with great circumspection and manifoldness. He went still further, when he drafted a "Historic Map of Colonization of the West and East Saxonian Region" which Prince John, the later King of Saxony, put before the Saxonian Society for Antiquity with the express desire that this valuable scientific work be continued and completed (Bulletin of the Saxonian Society for Antiquity 6, 1852, p.25 following). Unfortunately this was not done during the period following this; the author left Saxony; inspite of exerting search no trace could be found of the map itself.

After this promising beginning the research work was left idle for more than a generation. The happy upswing of Saxonian history after the creation of the great collection of medieval documents and the publication of the archives for Saxonian history (1863 following), and the fostering of the science of national affairs on the basis of historical developments, did not lead to a revival, although some individual contributions of the nature of local history or landscape description, offered usable building stones for further research. The impulse to proceed further came from outside. In Silesia which neighbored Saxony in the East there was August Meitzen who was active in the regulation of the manorial and farm land situation and the reorganization of the fields connected with it. He recognized the significance of the field lines which were dug into the soil and which were clearly shown by the geometricians who had drafted the field plans. He termed them documents of a special kind which are invaluable for the research on colonization and agriculture. At first he selected comparable examples and interpreted them on the basis of a historical-critical method and written documents available from the past and the field maps pertaining to them; in this way he

meant to proceed from present conditions to the medieval time when the village and field plans were made. He distinguished between characteristic types of fields and compared German and Slav colonization. He also took note of the differences which were rooted in the economic and social conditions. He did not overlook the changes in the field organization resulting from them. Then Meitzen extended his observations to a general comparison of the German and Slav types of settlement and topped his scientific life-work by the great work on "Colonization and Agriculture of the West and East Teutons, Kelts, Romans, Finns and Slavs" (1895). The German colonization of the East was described here only in a brief chapter, with a few examples of field maps also from the regions of Meissen and Saxony.

Meantime a change had taken place in the science of German history which paved the way for the spread of the wing which emphasized the history of civilization. The fostering of economic history developed and works on the history of colonization (settlements) set in all of a sudden. Also in Saxony the work on the history of settlements was resumed. The University of Leipzig took the lead: Aug. v. Miaskowski, Professor of Political Science, whose special scientific work dealt with the agrarian constitution, Friedrich Ratzel, the creator of anthropological geography, and Karl Lamprecht who had the greatest lasting effect, who was appointed Professor of History in Leipzig in 1892 and who helped a large-scale opening up of the regional historic research with great understanding and the will to encourage it. Following a suggestion made by von Miaskowski the princely Jablonowski Society in Leipzig organized a contest in 1889; the subject was the history of colonization and Germanization of the Wettin regions. Ed. O. Schulze got the prize; but

on the basis of his experience he decided to make important changes. Originally, he had designed his work as a historio-topographic research and collected all the information which was available in the documents at each village up to the beginning of the 14th century; but now, for the sake of the inner context he decided to cover also farming conditions up to the end of the 16th century, and partly also up to the 19th century and also to take up problems of the history of the constitution. However, the latter were confined to the region between the rivers Saale and Elbe, and Upper Lusatia was excluded. He did not mean to write a history of Saxonian agriculture, but he hoped to fill the noticeable gap in the preparation of a general economic history of Saxony. In view of the considerable amount of time and expenses involved and in view of the subsequent necessity to provide a great number of maps Schulze did not intend to study the field maps and the division of the fields. Another reason was that the publication of Meitzen's great work was imminent. In 1896 his work on the "Colonization and Germanization of the Region between the Rivers Saale and Elbe" was published which has proven a permanent basis for the history of colonization and agriculture of our country and has remained so; its influence was lasting and has extended beyond the borders of Saxony.

The work on the opening up of the field map tradition was taken up immediately. A ^{pertinent} suggestion was made by K. Lamprecht who had done research on problems of the history of colonization in the Rhineland and who had examined the field maps of the Moselle region, when he exchanged his views with those of A. Meitzen; he did this in preparation of his work on the "German Economic Life in Medieval Times" (1886). After the Saxonian Commission for History was founded in 1896 this work was taken up

as one of its first scientific projects. E.O.Schulze received the commission to work on a field map atlas for the Kingdom of Saxony; typical settlement shapes in Upper Saxony as a basis for a presentation of the history of agriculture was the more specified subject. He authorized a memorandum in which the layout of the work was given. It was planned to publish approx. 50 to 60 field maps. Purely rural settlements and manorial fields were to be distinguished by groups; the intention was also to study the emergence of the manorial system which has played such an important part in the German East, besides the elucidation of the history of colonization. A fine result of these studies which were taken up is Schulze's contribution in R. Wuttke's Saxonian Folklore (1901); under the heading "Bases of Folk-Life" he gave a clear synopsis on the "Development and Types of Settlements" with numerous examples for the village plan (layout) and also with two field sketches (on the "old quadrangular village" which, however, was not located in Saxony). Shortly before this Wuttke himself had published a brief sketch on the history of colonization of Saxony in B.G.Teubner's "New Year Books" I (1899) so a wider readership, also at the high schools, could benefit from it. However, his promising activities got stuck; a little later Schulze was appointed instructor of agriculture in Switzerland (St.Gallen); he left Leipzig and took along his collections which were intended to be used in the preparation; the following work did not benefit from them. After this the plan to publish a field map atlas has been resting for a long time.

Only in 1902 the work was resumed. At the sitting of the Commission for History on December 11 he moved to photo-multigraph the sketch maps of the fields of the surveying done from 1835 to 1843 in Saxony to prepare the land-tax reform; Meitzen had already

dy described its unusually great value for the history of colonization and agriculture; Lamprecht wanted to make the sketches available for scientific research. The secretary of the commission Rudolf Koetzschke, Instructor for History at the University of Leipzig, was asked to make a preliminary study of their inventory and their usability as a source for historic research. In an elaborate memorandum he showed that these sketch maps (appr. 3,400) described the situation prevailing prior to the amalgamation and the division of land taking place at that time; only appr. 42 sketch maps made an exception to this; the maps make it possible to evaluate the historic and traditional situation prevailing in regard to the land distribution prior to the changes made in modern times. It was made clear that the shapes which can be recognized on these sketch maps cannot be simply traced back to the time when the villages were founded and the fields took shape. During the periods of the East German colonization the Germans created the fields, particularly fields which are divided into forest hides and fields which are quadrangular; in spite of various changes in the details of this organization they have preserved their typical characteristics up to the beginning of the 19th century; on the other hand, considerable changes took place in the formerly Slav regions ^{the} under/German manorial system and under the German rulers, and the fields went through a period of new distribution. The importance of these sketch maps was pointed out for the history of agriculture but also, in general, for historic topography, local history, the ascertaining of administrative districts and the political division of the country, the history of the constitution and of jurisdiction, for the research on the names of the terrain, that is to say for basic scientific projects of the Historic Commission.

The reproduction of the sketch maps was preceded by a study made at the district internal revenue offices; on behalf of the Commission these offices were visited by R. Koetzsohke and H. Beschorner; this provided an opportunity to become acquainted with the official agencies for terrain inspection. The reproduction was made from 1903 to 1907 by the Graphic Art Works of Robert Mittelbach at Koetzsohbroda who as a former official at the Department of the Treasury was acquainted with the field maps; the types of culture prevailing which on the original sketch maps were entered only with small colored lines, were given in full color covering the respective areas; this increased the illustrative ^{value} and the usability of the picture to a great extent. Two copies were made: one for the Central Archives of Saxony in Dresden where it was used for the collection of field names under Director Beschorner, the other for the newly established Seminar for Local History and Colonization at the University of Leipzig under the leadership of Prof. Koetzsohke (1906), with the intention to be used for the scientific evaluation in connection with research on regional history; it was also meant to serve as material for instruction at the university, particularly as a reliable and available basis for the work on the field map atlas which was done by R. Koetzsohke. Negatives of the photographs (collodion skin) were handed over to the Central Archives of Saxony in Dresden, so copies could be made, when the need arises for doing so. The intention of the atlas work was to produce appr. 60 to 70 examples of selected field maps and to interpret them in terms of the history of agricultural topography. It was intended to include also older field maps to cover also the situation which was shown in the land registers of earlier times. The selection was intended to be oriented along the lines of the following subjects: shapes of settlement, village layout, field division, agrarian organization, regional differences of soil, the time when the village was established and the nationality of the settlers. The intention was to distinguish three groups:

settlements in the sphere of the former Sorbian colonization, establishments of German colonization and examples for the reform on the basis of later economic developments. At the end it was intended to show the geographical distribution of the different types of fields; on this basis it was intended to put the development of colonization into connection with observations on the general history of the country and folklore. A survey on its projects on regional history was submitted to the conference of the historians in Dresden in 1907 by the Saxonian Commission for History; at the same time the institutes of regional history had their convention there; the survey was summarized in a booklet: "The historic-geographic work in the kingdom of Saxony." At an exhibition a number of field maps from the times of Gus the Strong selected by H. Beschorner were shown; as a first example for the work done on the field map atlas R. Koetzschke submitted the draft of a survey over the different types of terrain shapes along both sides of the river Elbe between the Saxonian borders in the North and in the South (basic map 1 : 100 000) where the characteristic geographical distribution of the old shapes, of German quadrangular fields and the forest hide settlements could be clearly recognized.

At the beginning it was expected to complete the work quickly to stimulate the activities in the field of colonization in Saxony, ⁱⁿ the various landscapes and at the places where local history was cultivated. But the course which the actual work took, was different. This was a result of the nature and the extension of the mission to be done. If a methodical progress was intended, certain basic principles had to be established. It was not a question to show the external shape for a suitable

pattern of basic shapes for the settlements as a texture of geometric figures, to illustrate them by suitable examples, to ascertain the geographical distribution of the typical shapes throughout the country and to read from such survey over the history of colonization. It was rather a matter of appreciating the settlements on the basis of the entity of phenomena concerning them such as the nature of the soil, all the energies of the people living in the state and the local communities, the external civilization, agrarian civilization, and the inner mental and psychic attitudes; both of the latter must be connected with each other: overlooking a large area and concentration on the trends in local life, in the precincts of the various fields. These objectives necessitated the study of a voluminous and shifting source material and required a great amount of individual preparatory study in which interested persons from various scientific fields can cooperate in the solution of special problems.

A suitable place of study was the University of Leipzig. In various ways suggestions had been made to do research work on the colonization and the rural type of economy. The course which the evaluation of the sketch maps took, was following the Leipzig Seminar for Regional History and Colonization, where the cooperation between the head of the seminar and the students brought numerous results. Exact observation and circumspect evaluation of a fact are the first condition for accurate scientific work; such ability can be learnt ^{and tested} in the course of the study of the terrain. The perspicuity of the objects under study and the fact that the assignment was near to actual life, are particularly attractive. A first fine result was Alfred Hennig's work on the "Soil and Colonization in the Kingdom of Saxony" (dissertation 1911); originally, it was the solution of a problem which was put before the contestants in a contest of the Faculty of Philosophy which awarded a price. A new way was found by Hennig who, after a successful survey over the different types of soil dealt with prehistoric times

then the colonization during the Slav period, the progress of colonization among the East German settlements and afterwards with the colonization on the mountains of the Erzgebirge; he described the details of the type of colonization concluding with a chapter on the change in the settlement picture. It was an outstanding performance which was justified in attracting great attention and had a lasting effect. On behalf of the Association for Saxonian Affairs Hennig submitted a booklet on "The Shapes of Villages in Saxony" in their historical development (1912) as a first part in the planned research on the farm houses; he gave a great number of village layouts for which he was able to make use of the sketch map collection of the Saxonian Commission for History at the Seminar for Regional History under the guidance of the Director); a survey map on the geographical distribution of the various village shapes was attached in regard to the historic-geographical perspective (1 : 250 000 with level lines and the forests around 1830). Whereas Hennig covered the entire field of study, others intended and offered the study of details which in regard to both space and time were more limited and aimed at deepening and clarifying the subject. Stimulated by other university institutes the neighboring sciences made contributions toward the research on colonization: the Germanistic side (under the guidance of Prof. Th. Frings), particularly in the systematic extension of research on dialects based on regional history; the folklore side (Br. Schier) in fine works of the Institute for Agricultural Science. During a period of vivid revival of interest in local history the students examined the colonization and its historic development. The attraction of the observation of colonization raised interest in wide quarters of scientifically interested people in Saxony; the word and the notion of "Siedlung" (settlement) used for new settlements became popular. Two names may be mentioned here: Alfr. Meiche, German philologist and historian, who through profound research obtained significant results for the so unusually attractive region of "Saxonian Switzerland", and Johs. Langer, student

of the Leipzig Seminar, who made himself highly meritorious through his scientific life-work on the history of colonization in the Saxonian regions, particularly by his publication on the "Local History Excursions through the Erzgebirge". All this will be described more in detail at another place.

Thanks to such manifold attempts much knowledge was accumulated, although the cooperation lacked planning at times; there was constant but gradual progress made by the Saxonian Commission for History in its projects on regional history. There was also good progress made with the great collection of terrain names. H. Beschorner was the director of this collection which he headed on behalf of the Commission with great success. Upon his suggestion the sketch maps were attached to the field name booklets which were put up at the Central Archives of Saxony in Dresden; the intention was to ascertain a maximum of exactitude in the determination of the location in the fields; cover sheets were used into which the names were entered. This provided the research on the history of colonization and terrain (topography) and also the work on the topographical map atlas with a great deal of highly valuable information. As a first result of the penetrating preliminary work for the Historic Village List A. Meiche completed his "Historic-topographic Description of the District of the Bailiff of Pirna" for an area in Saxonian Switzerland and the Eastern part of the Erzgebirge (1927) which is particularly interesting in regard to its history and soil; the various types of settlements supplemented the manifold information on each locality according to the distinguishing marks laid down for the topographical map atlas. The description of the district of the bailiff of Grossenhain which was published later by O. Moertzsch, was similar (1935). The voluminous source material which was examined for the projects of the Commission (in the "slip collection" kept at the Central Archives) was made useful

for the field map atlases.

The work on the field map atlas was not interrupted but reached its final stage of completion only in a very gradual manner. The reasons for this were both external and internal difficulties. It was not a summarizing, critical and balancing presentation of the history of colonization and agriculture of Saxony but a publication which had to make use of the entire source material; it was not a question of simply reproducing source publications which had been found but a presentation which in regard to both the text and the maps is a strong condensation and a shortening. The compilation of the material appeared to be quite cumbersome and extensive. The holder of the chair of Saxonian History at the Land University who worked on this, had also other plans in regard to the history of political affairs and civilization in Saxony. He had not only to look over the printed material of source publications and the subsequent research material; he also had to open up the rich tradition which was found in the archives and other Land offices on topographical history. The Saxonian Commission for History made it possible for him to spend two long periods of time at Dresden for doing the necessary research in the archives with the approval of the Ministry of Education. Archives were visited also in other parts of the country. The shipping of archives to Leipzig was equally of great help; there was very good cooperation in this respect. The most voluminous material was found at the Land Archives of Dresden with its various sections on original documents and copy books, with file groups of the Secret Archives, of the Saxonian government (court-records), and to a lesser extent also the files of the Secret Cabinet a.o., but mainly the files of the so-called Finance Archives and of the very distinguished section on maps and drawings. Results

were obtained on the basis of the material found in various municipal archives and archives of the local courts before the law-suit books were transferred to the Central Saxonian Archives. The records of the manors and the estates, also those of the communities, were used only in special cases. The finding of documents had to be limited to the evaluation of information in individual cases. Of more general use were the register-like files of the Central Saxonian Archives, tax records from late medieval and modern times, to a great extent also the official records and the terriers of the 16th and 17th centuries, then the rolls of the knights, hide lists etc., also the records on church visitations and on proceedings of the provincial diets. A survey on the available terrain registers had to be made from the beginnings to approximately the beginning of the 19th century; this entailed also the study of the registers on large amounts of taxes and quarterly taxes. From the maps the old, genuine field maps had to be selected which was facilitated by H. ^{it} index-Beschorner's carefully describing/file of drawings. Valuable complementation was made possible by the material at the Royal Public Library at Dresden which is now the Saxonian Central Library, the Land Office for Topography where important older maps are kept, and the Mining Office at Freiberg. Field maps can also be found in the archives of the estates. This was established by an enquiry of the Saxonian Commission for History. Shipments for study at the Central Archives at Dresden were requested and granted in many cases. The tradition which is so important for the field map atlas, ends with the great number of files which can hardly be mastered, both general and special records on the legislation on the great agrarian reform around 1830 up to the middle of the 19th century. Welcome additions, particularly in regard to older field maps, were provided by the collections of the

General Commission for Real Estate Merging and the Division of Common Fields (formerly at the Office of the District Prefect of Dresden-Neustadt). A copy of the field maps of the great topographical survey made between 1835 and 1843 was kept at the Real Estate Tax Authority in the Treasury Department; now they are kept by Land-Register and Survey Office at the Department of the Interior. Originals with the sketches and the property registers pertaining to them are kept by the district survey offices of the various supreme bailiff offices (now district offices). The required 'field books' (registers) with the sketches were sent to Leipzig for purposes of the Commission for History and for use by R. Koetzschke upon request.

The progressing compilation of the material was paralleled by the preparation of the material for evidence required for individual examples and also for the great overall picture of the colonization. During the first decades - with an interruption during the first world war - all this was done by personal research. To attain greater progress an auxiliary organization was established in the Seminar for Regional History after the studies of local history were revived; this was a loose working group in which W. Uhlemann has worked in an active and skilful manner. Students were used for entering the properties of various individual fields in distinct forms and for marking them on field sketches; at first this was done on copies according to negatives, later on by blueprints; the students received a moderate remuneration for this work (A. Fiedler, C. Roesel, M. Mueller and others). The property parcels were entered for all owners of real estate in the terrain with the size and the type of cultivation; the entire property of each individual owner was entered by applying colored shading on the field map, so that a survey was made possible over the division of property which went far beyond the black-white drawings of Meitzen; the examples we-

re selected in regard to a number of properties. All those who took part in the research work did not expect an interpretation of the development of the field divisions. When they worked independently, they pioneered at times by trying to find an explanation. W. Uhlemann and J. Leipoldt were instructed to re-examine the entire collection of sketched maps to prepare the plotting of the survey map. The reservation was made that the first scientist among the researchers would check their work. Uhlemann was appointed mayor for the city of Tautcha and discontinued; Leipoldt finished the draft (basic map 1 : 100 000) and submitted a survey over the geographical distribution of the field shapes to the public (Petermann's Bulletin, 1936; scale: 1 : 400 000).

The material had been compiled and prepared for years and even decades; this was paralleled by work on various parts of the descriptive text, particularly for the individual examples. Finally, the wording of the general part was completed with which the publication of the work had to be opened. In the years around 1930, prior to 1934, the writing was done. The printing was delayed from year to year; the reasons were unfavorable trends prevailing at that time in Germany as well as the amount estimated for the production of a great number of maps. Only after the Commission had been re-established the project came nearer to its realization. It was possible to discuss the matter with the Bibliographic Institute at Leipzig. The layout and the execution were discussed with the then director of the cartographic section of this publishing house, Dr. Edgar Lehmann who showed great interest for the project and encouraged it by his great knowledge, particularly in regard to technical problems in connection with the maps.

The publication plan as it was proposed at that time, was basically in agreement with the original intentions; however, there were some changes which were not without any importance; the latter were determined by the experience which had been gained during the work and by the results of research made in both Saxony and other regions. It was decided to incorporate the publication into

the projected "Historical Atlas of Saxony" to represent volume I of a series of "Preliminary Research with Explanations"; the title was "Settlements and Fields in Saxony". The authors adhered to a division into three parts. First there was a general part which was based on the knowledge of the entire material which had been studied; it was intended to characterize the terrain map tradition and its value as a source for the science of history, and to introduce the reader into the historic understanding of the localities and fields of Saxony; this had to be done both in regard to the overall picture and individual cases. It was intended to attach a number of sketches of the layout of the various localities and fields according to the available map sketches; this made the description of the basic shapes clearer than it was possible with words. Finally, only a few sketches were to be added as examples to show the method of historic explanation of the names^{and shapes}/of localities and fields. For the second part it was intended to publish a series of cartographic sheets in two groups, one with older maps from M. Oeder's time to the 18th century, the second with terrain sketches of the topographical survey made from 1835 to 1843. Among the latter there had to be map sketches which were to serve as rebutting examples compared with the older ones; this made it possible to draw a comparison and to support the historical value of the topographical survey made in 1835. This series of terrain maps would at the same time convey a good idea of the agricultural organization prior to the great Saxonian reforms of agriculture. The end of the publication was to be a survey map prepared by J. Leipoldt showing the geographical distribution of the typical shapes on the basis of the village field map previously published by the Commission.

According to the agreements made preparations were made for the printing (the beginning was to be printed in summer 1942). In spite of the war which had broken out and the obstacles of which ~~were felt to a noticeable extent~~, progress was made with the

composition. In June 1943 the introducing part was submitted at a meeting of the Commission; the publication of the volume was expected to take place at the end of the year.

The hopeful progress which had been made was suddenly interrupted: the consequences of the terrible air raid on Leipzig on December 4, 1943 put an end to the work for the time being. The composition which was kept at the Bibliographic Institute was destroyed, because it melted in the great fire. In the rooms of the Commission for History in the basement of the Bornermanum of the University and at the Institute for regional History and Folklore at the Gold Bear which were destroyed completely on account of fire and falling, the material for the terrain map atlas got lost, the excerpts from documents, registers and files, tables compiled according to the land registers, manuscripts of various kinds, the wording of the explanations for the individual examples, an important part of the preliminary drawings for the maps, a.o. the entries made by Dr. Leipoldt for the survey map; only the great collection of the map sketches itself as well as a few field maps which had been colored for the publication, were preserved because they had been transferred to the archives of the University in time; in spite of the destruction of the entire magnificent front building the archives were able to survive. Fortunately, it was found after a long search that part of the manuscript of the text of the introduction was still existent as a slip-proof for re-examination, approximately one third, with many great and small omissions, so that a new composition could be made on the basis of this, if the lost part would be rewritten. It was evident that the rewriting was necessary to save the much discussed publication which had been supported and encouraged through an entire generation. However, considerable difficulties were in the way of putting this plan into practice. Under the prevailing conditions

the contents had not to be reproduced to the fullest extent and in all chapters. The work to recreate the lost text was started. In general this attempt can be considered successful. However, the type of publication must be different, although the goal which was put up must remain.

When the decision was made to publish a Saxonian Terrain Map Atlas in the past, the idea was not only to revive regional Saxonian research. In a more general way an influence upon German science was expected by the new venture of such a publication. The long delay has certainly impaired the fulfilment of such hope. However, a certain influence was exerted because the "Leipzig School" influenced German research on colonization. In this connection we have to mention two projects which also had an influence on the terrain map atlas. The Conference of Institutes for Regional History (under the chairmanship of R. Koetzschke) suggested uniformity among the methods of determination and the designations for the basic shapes of the settlements in order to promote possibilities for comparison of scientific work related to them. After careful, preliminary research based on topographical maps Wolfgang Ebert who had been a member of the Leipzig Seminar, wrote a booklet on the "Shapes of Rural Settlements in the German East" (1936) giving numerous map examples and village layouts according to map-scale tables and individual field maps. The "Historic Atlas of Germany" by Prof. W. Vogel, Berlin, became of direct significance for the history of colonization. R. Koetzschke headed the section on rural settlements in this project. Examples of basic shapes had to be selected here; it was intended to study and describe their geographic distribution for limited regions: for Saxony along both banks of the river Elbe up to Northern Bohemia by J. Leipoldt who was able to use his work on the Saxonian Terrain Map Atlas as a basis. Adalbert Klaar joined the project in Austria; after long preliminary studies he succeeded

to publish his impressive map of the settlement shapes in the Alpine districts (1942) including the description of the shapes of the houses. The scientists who took part in the work were anxious to create and establish a certain uniformity of the village signs and the colors for the different types of fields for the entire German region. This was intended to assure the possibility to compare and to assure a safe reading of such maps. The Department for Regional Affairs in the Reich Office for Topography advocated this system under the leadership of Prof. E. Meynen. At the beginning of January 1943 a discussion was held at Leipzig where representatives from Western and Southern Germany attended; Dr. E. Lehmann acted as a consultant. The suggestions were submitted by A. Krenzlin, Berlin; the elaborated scheme established during the work for the Saxonian terrain map atlas was suggested to serve as an essential basis, particularly for the field shapes. A point was reached in the development of the cartographic presentation of the field shapes which had been considered a goal for a long time.

The project the drafting and the development of which has been described, became part of an original all-German planning. If it could be continued and completed according to the above described plan this publication which is the first of its kind for a larger regional area, would have an influence upon German science, thanks to the favorable conditions reigning in the history of colonization in Saxony and thanks to the geographical situation of Saxony as a German region which passed from a stage of a permanently German motherland to a stage of an area of settlement with East-German characteristics.

Chapter I

The Development of Land Registers and
Field Maps in Saxony

The importance of the field maps as a source for historic research can only be evaluated in connection with a survey on the formation and the development of these characteristic cartographic traditions with all their paraphernalia. We have to go back to the times in which the scientists did not know how to present the divisions of the terrain by means of drawings. Information on the organization of the fields was only suggested by words or described in testimonials for many centuries. In view of the clear and distinct institutions customary in rural areas the owners of landed property had a surprisingly good memory for the things they had to know; the names of the fields, forests etc. helped them in this. Gradually more exact definitions were introduced till the linear and colored drawing was used for describing the village layout and individual fields; at first only sketches were made; after a certain time field maps proper were designed and introduced into general use. We will describe this development in more detail.

In the first century after the German topographical survey and the determination of the boundaries up to the beginnings of the period of King Henry IV. it was customary to give the places only by their name in the documents (royal documents). The formal enumeration of the land belonging to the village is at first only customary in the Western parts; in the East it is done almost exclusively in the case of localities belonging to a castle: buildings and farm-yards, cultivated and uncultivated land, fields, meadows, forest, also bush, brooks and rivers, fishing areas, hunting districts, at times also mills; but there was no guarantee that the enumeration reflected actually reigning conditions. Since the times when monasteries were founded and the margraves

started to write letters in the 12th century under the margraves Konrad and Otto von Meissen and the development of the exclusively German colonization the custom of writing letters became customary. Now documents are issued more frequently; information on the villages is no longer given by adding a formal enumeration, ^{of property belonging to the} but by the enumeration of property situated there (estates, ^{village} peasant hides, arable land, meadow, copse etc.). Descriptions of the villages and the fields are not given yet. The fact that the individual owners of peasant farms at the villages are mentioned in the income list of the prebend of Zeitzin 1196, and the fact that the pieces of land situated in the village fields are characterized in such a way that they can be distinguished from each other, is an exception'). Since the early 13th century - prior to this only once at Kuehren - we find information on the number of the hides of a village which permit conclusions as to the size of the fields (Baalsdorf near Leipzig, Luppä near Oschatz). The increasing number of documents - since the end of the century also in German language - permits an increasing evaluation of the field history. If there are several manors situated in one village, fairly exact descriptions can be given of the manors and the accessory land; this is the case at Strassberg near Plauen (1296); as far as the amount of information is concerned the case of Oberwartha near Meissen is particularly favorable (1269-1296; then at 1354). In view of the poorly developed research on the documents which has been published it cannot be said with safety whether many descriptions were given ^v of the localities including the fields.

Progress was seen by the increase in the number of written evidence on parchment and paper and of regular book-keeping. This was a result of the formation and development of government offices under the sovereign ruler since the middle of the 14th century.

¹⁾ Document book of the bishopric of Naumburg, I, no. 391.

In Thuringia and West of Merseburg we can find the description of hides in various documents which have shed some light on the division of the terrain. No such descriptions were found in the Meissen region. The entries made for this region do not give such precise information on the distribution of land in and around the villages as we can find it in the land registers of Emperor Charles IV for the March of Brandenburg around 1375. However, their setup as registers gives us comparable data not only for each individual locality as it is the case in the documents but also for the various districts; this makes it possible to draw comparisons between the geographical distribution of the various pieces of land. This is true of the fief register of Frederic the Severe (1349/50) ²⁾. Here the various types of property, manors and cultivation which are of importance for the history of the terrain, are covered. The lists of tributes paid for military purposes, in the district of Meissen in 1334/36 are too general. The list of income (1378) to which the margraves of Meissen were entitled, is more elaborate. ³⁾ It lists the villages; but, in general, it gives only the total amount which was paid; it rarely contains data on individual property and on the use of a certain field. In this respect we can find more information in the lists of manors and income of the chapter of the Cathedral of Merseburg from the early 14th century which borders the Western parts of our country. ⁴⁾ Here we can find detailed information on individual localities so that a survey over the relationship between the lord and the peasants on the local level is possible. For this period no comparable entries were made in the district of Meissen. The register of the diocese of Meissen (1346) gives only the episcopal income per locality. ⁵⁾ Only from the beginning of the 15th century there are a few tribute registers available for the Augustine prebendary chapter St. Afra at Meissen; they are not voluminous. ⁶⁾ For the same period and region

²⁾ Publ. by W. Lippert and H. Beschorner, Publ. Sax. Comm. Hist. VIII, 1903.
³⁾ Publ. by H. Beschorner, Registrum dominorum marchionum Missnensium
 T. Publ. of Sax. Comm. for History. VIII, 1903. ⁴⁾ Doc. Reg. of Merseburg
 chapter. I. Ann. IV (see esp. p. 1060 a. f.) ⁵⁾ Cod. dipl. Sax. I. Sec. I, Ann.
⁶⁾ Cod. dipl. Sax. II. Sec., vol. 4, p. 179 and following.

a tendency can be noticed to write down precedent cases of peasant's rights. 7) Long property lists proper have not been put up by the spiritual institutions in the region of Meissen; at least none of them are preserved.

In the course of the 15th century, after the unification of Meissen with Kursaxony, particularly with the return of peaceful conditions after the danger was averted which had threatened from the Hussites, the activities of the chancery of the ruler, the issuance of documents and title-deeds and the book-keeping on a regular basis and the use of other types of written communications in the administration, particularly in the administration of economic affairs and of accounting, were on the increase. There were many instances where precise data had to be given on the localities and the fields belonging to them, although descriptions of the terrain of the estates and the surveying of property in the villages are still missing. From among the files which are of interest in this connection a few might be mentioned here. Around the middle of the 15th century notes are frequently made at the official offices and the residence of the ruler which are predecessors to the descriptions of the administrative districts (e.g. for the district of Freiberg). Lists of the holders of manors have been found for a considerable number of districts the region of which is of importance for the localities with land belonging to the manor. 8) Of increasing importance are the notes which were made on the various type of taxes which were introduced. This applies to the land taxes which were levied in the Meissen-Saxonian state. 9) The first tax was introduced in 1438; it was an excise tax which was levied on drinks as a consumption tax; soon this tax became a customary type of tribute to the state. It was not

7) At a ~~above~~ place

8) E.O.Schulze, The Colonization and Germanization of the Regions between the rivers Saale and Elbe. 1896, p.377 and following.

9) Compare under chapter III, par.4: land taxes.

a type of taxation, where detailed information had to be obtained on the property. More conclusive for the local research are the tax registers, if a tax was levied according to the property, i.e. on the basis of the real estate property or the taxes on it as well as on the basis of other types of income such as wages, rent etc., in other words, if a real land tax was paid. Whatever criterium was taken as a basis for the computation of the taxes, the list of the persons liable to taxation helps to increase our knowledge of the local population; in the most favorable cases we can even learn something of their way of living in the houses. In addition to the taxes which had to be paid to the province (state) there were the Reich taxes; the sovereign of the province (state) levied the tax on behalf of the Reich. One of the reasons for the levying of a Reich tax was the necessity to raise funds for the war against the Turks. In 1474 under Elector Ernst and the Duke Albert of Saxony a first attempt was made upon the request of the Emperor to list all residents, both spiritual and secular. The instructions were given to vassals and the bailiffs of the official government districts; data were requested on the property, the villages and the residents, who had possessions, the owners of hides and gardens, on cultivated and deserted hides, the food available for each individual from the estates, and the equipment^m, each year, and also data on the feudal tenures; it was a project which would have enabled us to draw valuable conclusions^c. In actual fact we have found such information which is greatly valuable for the research on the history of the terrain and the various communities. Unfortunately, the available information pertains more to regions North of our country. The common penny which was introduced by a decision taken at the Reichstag at Worms in 1499, was also assessed in Saxony and levied there. However, the material available for the research on the history of the region and for the census is utterly incomplete and not dependable. The bishops reserved the right to approve of the land taxes (state taxes) and to levy the Reich taxes in their territories. Therefore,

there are many gaps in the tradition of tax registers which have been handed down to us. The great feudal book which bishop John of Saalhausen had compiled for the diocese of Meissen contains little information which pertains to the history of the communities and fields in Saxony.

Thanks to the rigidly organized administration, the increase in correspondence by letter and the greater attention given to details, so much written evidence became available from the time of the reformation that together with the data provided in the maps which were published later on, it was made possible for researchers to go back to the field organization of these times, in particularly favorable cases even to information on individual property. Due to the Leipzig decision^{of 1485} Saxony into the region of Kursaxony ruled by the Ernest line and into the dukedom of Saxony which was ruled by the Albert line with the center of the March of Meissen, both with shares of the Osterland and Thuringia, the development of regional government showed variations; however, the latter are not essential for the development and the value of the topographical tradition. This applies also to the interior of Albertinic Saxony, where the districts of Freiberg and Wolkenstein were singled out from the region under the Duke George to be given to Duke Henry (1515); later on, the district of Rochlitz and also Kriebstein came under the Duchess Elizabeth who took up^{her} residence at Rochlitz as a widow (1537).

The reformatory movement proper has resulted in developments which led to the preparation of valuable files on the history of topography. A profound change took place in the real estate property of the church; due to the Evangelical-Lutheran conception on the property of the church and due to a different attitude towards the good deeds church property which had developed to considerable proportions in medieval times, was used for other purposes to a great extent. The decline of monastic life provided the immediate reason

for this. Duke George had made an attempt to reform the monasteries and visitations of the monasteries. After the new ecclesiastical order was introduced the monasteries were dissolved and the property of the monasteries was confiscated. Since the reign by the dukes Henry and Moritz preparations were made to use monastic property for secular purposes (Altzelle, Pegau and Chemnitz, the Leipzig monasteries, Nimbschen and others). Pertinent negotiations were going on at the provincial diets with the nobility and with the cities; the property was often rented and then sold. All this caused conflicts and compromise agreements which had to be laid down. Lists were established on landed property; since the existence of the monasteries these lists were often the first comprehensive documents, in which data were given on farms adjacent to the monastery with their accessories, on monastic villages with the peasants liable to taxation, with their hides, interests and services, and on the dispersed pieces of land. An exact survey and topographical determination of the arable land of the monastic estates was given for St. George in Leipzig in 1541. In this way voluminous files came into being offering useful source material for the topographical history; in many cases this material has replaced the lacking evidence on colonization done in medieval times.

A type of source material which is customarily used after the the period of Reformation are the ecclesiastical visitation files.¹⁰⁾ As early as in the Catholic time visitations were made upon the instruction of the bishops (1522); mostly they were not very successful. They started in the Ernestine state with Luther's Council in 1529. In the Albertine Saxony they were introduced in 1539/41; the sovereign introduced them in behalf of the bishop. Both spiritual and secular delegates were authorized to take part. From time to time they were repeated. The oldest files of this kind do not lend them-

10) Gg. Mueller, Visitation Files as a Historic Source. (Germ. Hist. Bull. 8, 1906); Reformation and Visitations of Saxonian Monasteries towards the end of the 15th century (New Arch. f. Sax. Hist. 38, p. 46 and following.)

ves to easily for research on the historic development of the property distribution property distribution to permit numerous conclusions; the intentions of the visitations were centered more around spiritual affairs. However, documents of later date permit conclusions more often. Important are the frequently very exact descriptions of the glebe land which in connection with the history of the terrain is of particularly great significance, because it usually has been preserved in its original shape from olden times without a change of proprietor, without divisions of inherited property, mostly also without important sales. Not only the size of such land is given according to hides or acres, but also the different fields and the type of cultivation, information on the meadows, copse, and other accessories, almost as clearly as the data appear in the field registers later on. In these records we can also find data on the parishioners with the names and the services rendered for the pastor, the sexton and the church in general; the size of the property held by the parishioners is listed or it can at least be computed. Particularly favorable examples are given by the visitations made during the years 1574 - 1590 in the various offices of the rural superintendents. Such church visitations have been continued up to the 17th century, however to a lesser degree.

An important source for the conditions prevailing in the sovereign authoritarian state of the Reformation Period are the official terriers of the administration done by the provincial princes; these terriers had the purpose to provide a reliable survey which is adequate for the central administration and which gives information on the property of the prince and the rights based on it as the most solid and most secured sources of income of the state¹¹⁾. In Ernest's Saxony, under the Elector Frederic the Wise and John the Steady, such registers were put up in greater numbers. This applies to the jurisdictional area of Plauen in the Vogtland in 1506, to Oelsnitz and Pausa, to Colditz in 1540 and others. Duke George whose careful administration is well known,

11) R. Koetzschke, The Government Reform in Kursaxony under the Elector Moritz (Mag. Ass. f. Thur. Hist., 34, 1940, p. 203 and following)

planned a general inspection of the jurisdictional districts and the introduction of 'terriers of all land which is used and all land belonging to these': the listing of the slopes, adjacent plots of land and copse, of the villages belonging to the particular district, the services rendered by the nobility and the peasants. The goal was put up; however it was put into practice only for a few individual villages, such as Leipzig, and in this case without detailed descriptions of the villages, which would give information about the distribution of property. First after the establishment of the electoral state of Saxony of the Albert line by Elector Moritz in 1547 the job was tackled to a greater extent and with greater precision. Bartel Lauterbach who was bailiff at Chemnitz at that time and who looked back on long experience in this field, received a pertinent assignment. In the following years the plan was encouraged with great zeal and circumspection. The official registers or terriers are put up in such a way that they offer a wonderful basis for the study of the rural conditions, although the layout of the villages and the shapes of the terrain are ^{not} described in them. The following is listed: the names of the places, where people live, the borders through the data given on the neighboring villages, the number of resident men, with their names and their economic-social grouping (peasants, gardeners, cottagers, millers, blacksmiths etc.) the number of hides and the property of the individual according to complete or partial hides and other real estate, the various services rendered for the sovereign (ground-rent, hunted animals, grain for soldiers and others), partly also services rendered for the lord of the manor, data on the office of the judge in the village (village mayors, village officials). Often the descriptions of the curious estates are very lengthy, such as the description of the farms adjacent to the castle with their fields and forests, the fishing grounds and ponds, vineyards a.o.; further the property of the pastor, the church tenure and

their income (tithe, decem) are listed with a certain regularity. In some but not all official registers the names of the holders of estates and their services are listed. On the whole we get a fairly clear picture of the property distribution in the local areas; however there is no guarantee that this information is complete, because the property of the prince was not covered by the registers on the local level.

A real complementation is provided by the descriptions of the administration of the land adjacent to the estates during the time of Gus who took great pains in the administration and economy and all their branches like a father of the house or country. An elaborate booklet appeared in 1569/70 which was introduced by a document on which an administrator was requested for the land adjacent to the manor; Abraham von Thumbshirn is considered to be the author ¹²⁾; this booklet presents the interior organization of the land adjacent to the estates and gives instructions as to the tilling of the land, cattle breeding, gardening and the vineyards, the mills, fishing, sheep raising and pasture land; its contents is not similar to the contents of the terriers or field registers, but it gives a great deal of information on the rural economy. Then there are reports on the visitations made at the Electoral manors adjacent to the estates in 1571 by Mr. von Thumbshirn ¹³⁾; the concern the location and the types of fields with data on the size, division and their cultivation as well as information on all kinds of special types of cultivation. In the following years many new registers were established; they become more voluminous and have a greater contents; they become more precise in their individual data and are also complemented by the presentation of changing developments. Their lines goes as far as the Thirty Years War. - Then there are numerous entries made which served the central administration for reviewing and completing what had been entered in ¹²⁾Household in Land adjacent to the Estates. Publ.Hub.Ermisch and Rob.Wuttke. Publ.Sax.Comm.Hist.XIX 1910. ¹³⁾Harm Wiemann, Report on the Visitation of Electoral Land in 1571.(1940). ¹⁴⁾Records of various Departments of the Central Archives of Saxony at Dresden.

in the official local registers¹⁴). In the rolls the knights were entered together with the knightly horses which they had to make available. The knightly gentlemen, the clerks and higher officials were ascribed to the various districts (districts with a prefect) and other administrative units which in comparison with the jurisdictional area of the domain lets us recognize a wider administrative unit. At the same time we receive a survey over the seats of the knights which, in turn, makes it possible to list them on the local level all over the country. A counterpart to this were the hide lists (for instance the lists of the districts of Electorate Saxony in 1587). They do not go so much into detail as the local registers but they give information on the hides or other types of unit of rural property as a comparison to or as a complementation of the information given in other kinds of documents. - The lords of the manor and the gentlemen of the courts followed the example given by the central administration of the country; occasionally, they had people to put down data on their property, their privileges and on the services rendered by their subjects. The so-called terriers were compiled in this way, not in the form of books but only as loose leaves so that the contents was scarce; however, it was of importance for the history of the villages and fields, because the source material was widely dispersed. If we deal with current entries into the books we have to mention the law-suit books. They do not compile information on the presence of rural property in a certain local area but entries on proceedings at court similar to minuits and concerning such property: bequeathing, appointments of guardians, sales, partition and other change of property; often detailed information is given on all accessories of an estate. The study of such books makes it often possible to trace the development of various estates in the village community in the course of several generations.

For the study of rural conditions prevailing in the period of Reformation the tax registers constitute also an important source which gradually becomes more and more precise ¹⁵⁾. Among the Reich taxes there are those which were levied between 1500 and 1522, when residents registers are established. The Turk tax of 1529-1530 was a property-tax with self-assessment and a wage and head tax. Duke George treated it as a kind of provincial tax (state tax): Registers had to be submitted listing the names of all residents subject to taxation; they also listed the property and the income; in this way an unusually rich though incomplete material has been handed down to us. Also the Duke Henry levied the tax in his area. The drinking tax was levied as a state tax. An important tax reform was made by Duke Moritz. The so-called 'shock' or land tax was introduced in 1546; mobile and immobile property was assessed by 'shock Groschen' (pennies); then a payment had to be made in penny quotas according to the approval given by the state diet, from each new or good shock (60 Groschen). Subsequently this type of tax has been in use repeatedly without changing its basic character. A good example is given by the taxes which were levied in 1570 and the following years under Gus, the Elector. The peasants who were represented by the heads of the households, paid taxes on their land, house, acres, hide, meadows etc., then on their cattle and vehicles, interest bearing cash; household goods and draught-animals and poultry were not taxes. The knightly goods which were earned with the knightly horses, remained tax-free; the same applied to the church property, whereas in the towns a corresponding tax had to be paid, although the assessment was different. We have found both a general listing of the entire income according to districts or jurisdictional areas, and an abundance of detailed registers with more or less exact entries. Rich source material

¹⁵⁾ In regard to taxation see chapter III, par.4 (real estate taxes). - O.Hoetzsch, The economic and social division particularly of the rural population in the Meissen-Erzgebirg district of the Electorate of Saxony (1900), p.6 and the following.

is given by these tax registers which permits us to study thoroughly the rural population, and often prepares younger papers which are similar to the terrain registers. Since that time the land or shock tax has been periodically levied till 1628 before the Electorate of Saxony was drawn directly into the entanglements of the 30 Years War and before a general assessment was organized according to shocks of land plots in the village territories and the fields to which reference was always made at later times.

The manifold entries and notes which gave us a certain amount of information on the historic tradition of the fields, were complemented in the 16th century by the description of the situation of the village and of various field plots, and ^{by} respective drawings. In the 14th century ⁱⁿ the Dresden picture handwriting of the "Sachsenspiegel" (around 1370) a village is shown with only one house which was built by a carpenter, a knightly estate with immured buildings or a tower as a symbolic allusion. Towards the end of the medieval period the intention and the ability in picturesque handwriting and in the graphic arts to illustrate a room and what is in it as well as landscape motives became more important. During the period of Reformation high skills were developed in this respect and it is understandable that cartography became a highly developed science as in other parts (Mercator in the Netherlands) but also in Saxony. 16) This development was closely connected with the fostering of geometry, of the art of surveying. Under Duke George the idea had come up to work on a 'portfolio' of the country; the teachers of mathematics at the Leipzig Academy Apian and J. Phaeticus got the assignment. But only under the Elector Gus progress was made in this project. 17) He took a personal interest in the project and got acquainted with the new techniques of surveying. Cartography was able to develop fully in Saxony. Vast forest areas were surveyed (J. Humelius in Leipzig and the surveyor Gg. Oeder at Freiberg) and the heath, fo-

16) H. Beschorner, History of Saxonian Cartography (1907), p. 6 and
17) Ludw. Schmidt, The Elector Gus of Saxony as a geographer (1898).

rests and copses were described in the Electorate of Saxony with Meissen and Thuringia (1557); then the 'Forest Books' were published with their artistic binding made by J. Krause. Individual drawings were also made: for parcels in the forests, such as parcels in which forest hide shapes can be clearly recognized. Particularly important were the surveyings of the adjacent land of the Elector (Hohnstein, Rennersdorf, Reichstaedt and others); in the descriptions we find exact data on the economic division of the arable land; there are also drawings on the accessories belonging to the adjacent land. The greater volume was a comprehensive land surveying in the territory of Saxony which was prepared under Gus the Elector and put into practice under Christian I. and his successors; it is named according to the surveyor Matthaeus Oeder (deceased in 1614) who was the main figure in the project; his associate was Balthasar Zimmermann, his cousin who continued the surveying (up to 1631)¹⁸). On a reduced scale a copy was made which gives a review of the whole territory. Oeder started it; its main parts were done by B. Zimmermann; the original survey, the 'original Oeder' is formed by hundreds of single sheets which are grouped according to sets of 96 sheets, in the scale of approximately 1 : 15 000; the scale of the Oeder-Zimmermann map is appr. 1 : 52 000. This land map does not give a cartographic presentation of the territory of the state of Saxony proper but only of the real estate property of the sovereign and the lords including the nobility. The forests are brought out in relief by sign stands and reddish framing; the manors are colored and bordered by lines. The villages are not shown in their layout but in a schematic sketch of houses; this is done in such

18) S. Ruge, The First Land Surveying of the Electorate of Saxony.... conducted by M. Oeder 1586-1607 (1889); also Kirchhoff in the New Arch. for Sax. Hist. XI, p. 139 and following.

a manner that the typical basic shape of the various pieces of land, of the hamlets and small lane villages as well as the row villages can be recognized. The field division is not given; only the field borders are visible at places where they concur with the borderlines of the estates; the important economic factors, the adjacent land, the number of peasants and gardeners, also the craftsmen, are listed with their values. In this way the Oeder-Zimmermann surveying appears as a counter-part of the official and rent registers; they are complemented in many ways and are characterized by a clear geographical presentation. Then there are several drawings for individual villages, particularly for crown land; among them there are some magnificent maps plotted by B. Zimmermann (Sachsenburg on Zschopau). Here the layout of the village is given as a picture; the fields of the crown land, the meadows and copse as well as peasant land are given in a surface presentation with their locations side by side and with the real proportions marked by signs and colors; in regard to their main contents such drawings can be considered a kind of field map, although they do not give the field division and do not show the entries of all plots. Up to the Thirty Years War the work of the Oeder School was continued. An attempt to continue the great land surveying (assignment given to Laz. Voigt in 1635/36) did not go through. A fertile epoch of Saxonian cartography came to an end. A first beginning was made for the development of field maps.

During the war a territorial expansion took place of the region which was dominated by Saxony: Elector Joan Georg I. occupied Lusatia in 1620, the Upper as well as Lower Lusatia. In 1623 he was instructed by Emperor Ferdinand II. to take the region into possession as a pawn; by the Peace of Prague the ^{were given} two margraviates as a tenure to the Electorate House of Saxony in regard to inheritance and property thanks to the traditional recess. The agreement was that the constitution of the region (state) would have to be respected; this has had an influence on the administration of the state and the type of terrain tradition which was handed down to us as a tradition. The margra-

viates of Upper Lusatia was divided only into two main districts, Bautzen and Goerlitz which had both their own jurisdiction and their 'Amtmann'. A subdivision into 'Aemter' did not exist and was not introduced later on. The region was divided into the domains of the nobility which, in turn, were divided into areas which later on were called manors of the lords and the simple knightly estates, and into the vast precincts of the 'six-towns' which comprised several villages. In Upper Lusatia there are no court-rolls and terriers and no source material with corresponding contents and value for the history of the village and the terrain. Only the notes taken down and the entries made in the manors and estates and in the towns for the villages belonging to them provide a certain substitute; naturally, the book-keeping was more advanced in the towns than in rural areas. The jurymen's books and the minutes of the proceedings at court are conclusive for the history of the villages and fields, such as the books found for the villages of Zittau which had a council governing them. The tax records which were a matter of the local authorities do not give so much information in Lusatia as they give in the patrimonial dominions. A smoke or fireplace tax was levied here which was assessed according to households; it was not very conclusive in regard to landed property.

After the end of the big war the country had to be reorganized and the economy had to be revived. This was done in an energetic and successful manner; however, the overall generous plan was lacking. The measures which were taken were not generally applied and not thorough enough.¹⁹⁾ In spite of princely absolutism in Saxony a certain weakness of the central government, an increasing power of the estates, particularly of the nobility, are characteristic traits of the development of internal affairs. This is reflected by the types of official records which were found which can serve as source material for the research done on the history of the villages and the terrain. The most immediate

19) Bernhard Kreyssig, Financial and Economic Policy of the Government of the Electorate of Saxony after the 30 Years War. Leipzig, unprinted, dissertation.

mediate job was the reconstruction of what had been destroyed, to take care of agriculture and to create sound finances. The government promulgated instructions and warnings to cultivate deserted estates and land and asked its officials to look after this. Up to the 18th century detailed instructions have been given in this respect repeatedly. However, there are no general surveys available on these developments. The great influx of exiles from Bohemia can be ascertained only by information given on a few details. During the lifetime of the generation living after the war no general surveying of the country was done; we find neither maps nor descriptions. The official records and terriers of the past period were not continued or renewed. Comparable data from those decades are handed down only by the book-keeping done on the various domains. The idea of establishing field books came up: L.V. Freiherr von Seckendorf made a suggestion²⁰⁾ and pointed out the advantages they would have for his 'princely state'. However, in the Electorate of Saxony this idea was not put into practice. On the other hand, several terriers came into being which registered numerous data on the inherited manors and court estates (compulsory service registers) with information on the land which was directly belonging to them, kept by them or farmed out; they also gave information on the wisdom-like order of rural law. The taxes gave much cause to introduce register-like sheets²¹⁾. A new general land-register of the land or shock tax was not introduced. The cadastre of 1628 was reintroduced which was declared the normal register by the diet of 1660/61, because in 1628 the complete unimpaired ability of the country to pay taxes was still evident. In regard to the tax shock a distinction was made between the fully workable shocks, moderate and deserted shocks; the intention was to increase the numbers of fully workable shocks. The penny tax introduced in 1645 was levied as a supplementary tax, whereas

20) General German Biography, vol.33, p.519 and following.

21) Rob. Wuttke, The Introduction of the Land Excise Tax and the General Consumption Excise Tax in the Electorate of Saxony (1890); Art. Reuschel, The Introduction of the Excise Tax on General Consumption in the Electorate of Saxony (diss. Leipzig, 1930), particularly p.16 and foll.

the land excise tax which was a consumption tax (since 1641) had an entirely different basis and did not give cause for the assessment of real estate. The ember tax (since 1646) was a head and trade tax; since 1661 it was assessed according to villages; since 1687/88 it was entered in a fundamental cadastre for each village, and subsequently, it was levied in a similar manner as the land tax, when the assessment and entering was made according to village fields; it was registered practically in the same way as the entering was done into the field books. ²²⁾ There are also numerous individual registers on the tax-payers and the taxable land on the manors and in the villages, often in shorter periods, but with the suspicion of being incomplete because of negligence or intentional concealment. - A new impetus for the organization of tax payments was given, when in 1681/2 under the Elector John George III the new standing army (militia) was put up. ²³⁾ The computation of the cost for billeting and the approval of grain for stock was done according to the hides on the basis of the traditional tax shock. For this purpose hide lists were required (in 1680 and the following years); this was now done rigidly by the 'Secret War Council Collegiate'; but the experience was made that the hides differed widely in regard to their sizes; in some districts they were even completely missing.

In the Augustan Period, as it is called in Saxonian history, when the power of the princes had risen to its climax, regulations of general scope were enforced which resulted in the introduction of notes similar to field books, and of real field maps. Gus the Strong (Elector Frederic Gus I., as King Gus II. of Poland) animated by personal and dynastic ambitions, autocratic in his decisions and inclined to take quick decisions, full of knowledge and educated along the lines of a world-wide edu-

²²⁾ Codex Augusteus, publ. by J. Chr. Luenig (Leipzig 1724) II 1480 (1661 Feb. 16: annual revision of the tax shock, new tax registers); dto. II 1618 (Instructions 1637, July 20 concerning new tax registers and cadastres). ²³⁾ W. Thenius, The beginnings of the standing army in the Electorate of Saxony (1912) p. 86 and the following, 103 and the following.

cation of the Period of Enlightenment in which he lived, recognized the situation and took efficient measures to increase the power of the princes and of his state: administrative reform (establishment of the Secret Cabinet in 1704 and subsequently the reform of the higher levels of the state authorities), increase of the army and of the incoming sources of finance; in Saxony the economic policy was moderately 'mercantilist'. Many and different kinds of measures were taken in that time; a great amount of records piled up which were useful for the study of the history of the field tradition. ²⁴⁾ After his advent to power Gus started to make an 'inventory' of the sources of the country, not without opposition on the part of the estates which considered this as a danger to the state and to their own interests. The government went further; a great number of statistics, registers and tables were put up which gave information on the numbers of inhabitants and developments among the population (general census in 1800/1 and 1718), according to districts, jurisdictional areas and individual villages. On the basis of considerations of internal policy the attention was focused on the fitness of young men to serve in the army and on the towns; but information on the rural population and economic conditions was also of interest. The increase in farming was in the interest of the general economic policy the purpose of which was the wealth of the state. The responsible man in the leading financial group in Saxony, Adolf Magnus Freiherr von Hoym (Director of Internal Revenue, later on Secretary of the Interior in the Secret Cabinet) is named in the decrees which concern the rural population and their work. Mainly three considerations were of decisive influence. ²⁵⁾ The government continued to pay attention to the reconstruction of the deserted estates, the

24) R. Wuttke, Saxonian Affairs, (1901), p. 184 and the following.
 25) Authorizations, patents etc.: Codex Augusteus II (Lpzg. 1724) Cont'd Cod. Aug. till 1772 (Lpzg. 1772), 2. continuation till 1700 (1804). - Manifold decrees can be found in general records and those for particular localities at the Dresden Central Sax. Arch.

houses and fields, gardens and individual plots of land. The regulations and decrees which were issued aimed at a support for the tax policy. The new type of taxes, the excise tax on general consumption, was mainly directed to commerce and traffic in the towns. But the traditional taxes, the shock and ember taxes, continued, particularly in rural areas; the purpose was to reestablish the full performance for assuring the tax volume, and to change back the reduced or defunct shocks into workable units. The treatment of the separated pieces (avulsa) plays an important part. When parts of a peasant estate were sold the regulation was that the tax would rest on the land from which the piece was separated, on the so-called family or mother estate' which remained responsible for the full amount which had to be paid. Negligence or concealment could result in a diminution of the tax volume. To prevent this possibility on the basis of special decrees for particular villages the peasant land^(hides) was declared 'closed'; the sale was forbidden without the approval of the highest internal revenue authority. The Internal Revenue Authorities were anxious to ascertain the old condition of the mother estates on which the shocks of the conventional cadastres had been put (1628) so that the assessment could be assured in its full amount. A reliable means for the attainment of all this were the lists for villages and fields where all houses and resident land, the fields, meadows, copse and other land was registered exactly according to location and size which made it possible to ascertain all the data at any time. A decree of 1704 instructed to introduce registers with an attached scheme; Concealment or incorrect information (increased tax or confiscation of the land) was punished.²⁶⁾ Reference has always been made to this decree in later times. Corresponding decrees were issued repeatedly (1713). A general surveying of

26) Cod. Augustus II, 1585 and the following. 1704, Nov. 23: Advice... shock; p. 1587 and the following. 1705, May 15: Decree to organize the new tax shock cadastres according to the attached scheme and to send them in; for estates (of knights) and villages town and jurisdictional districts: Individual-cadastrum, tables, warnings.- Dto. II 1641 and foll., 1716, Oct. 30: Revision of the new shock assessment (in this item 9: Prohibition of separation of peasant land); consignment.- Instructions to this in 1717, June 19 (to militia).- II 1835 and foll. 1716, July 16: Order re ember tax and scheme.

the country according to village areas was not done. Several undertakings of Gus remained in the planning stage; this was also the case in regard to the surveying. The descriptive text was now complemented by more illustrative and reliable graphic pictures of the field maps.

Certain progress was made in the surveying which were laid down in drawings.²⁷⁾ A general cartographic land surveying which would have been of use for the general information about the economy, was not undertaken. Tob. Beutel's endeavours aimed more at the astronomic-geographic determination of the village locations; but his surveying art has found acceptance among the surveying people who were able to attain a degree of exactitude which had been unknown hitherto. Sam. Niernborg (at Dresden; in 1652 surveyor of the Electorate, deceased around 1681) planned a map of the entire Electorate of Saxony together with Beutel; however, it was not put into practice. On the other hand some drawings show that the land was surveyed (Rauba near Lommattzsch, Gross-Schirma South of Nossen)). A particularly good example showing into the future, was provided by a survey of the 'Stadtfelder' (town fields) at the Leipzig Council's Archives in 1683 (by G. Boettger)²⁸⁾. It belongs to a period during which remarkable progress was made in the administration of Leipzig (under the first town clerk Graeve). One year prior to the introduction of a great terrier of the council's villages (1684) this register was made with brief data on the holder of the piece of land, their sizes and rent burden, for the Eastern part of the municipal fields and the neighboring fields; then, and this was new, there were 12 tables for each field section giving a schematic presentation of the parcels showing the size and arrangement according to the location and listing the numbers which refer to that property register. Here we can speak of a real field map-like register, although it is still somewhat distorted in

27) H. Beschorner, Hist. of Sax. Cartography, p. 13 and foll.: see also Hist. Geogr. Work in Saxony (1907) p. 17 and foll. 28) Leipzig, Municipal Arch., Tit. XVR 4; one copy is at the Museum of Local History.

its drawings and although the register was still very simple. A little later a quite peculiar performance was the layout of the precinct of Sommerfeld (East of Leipzig) in 1690²⁹; it was edited by Christ. Arnold who came from a peasant family, who had been working as a peasant himself but who had an open mind for science (astronomy) and was acquainted with cartography by T. Beutel. He surveyed the fields which he had known himself from his childhood, with great exactitude and laid down the results in an exact drawing of the location of the village, of the six fields and in a general survey. For the East of Leipzig, better: for Sommerfeld, we have thus got a picture of the fields in a correct topographical orientation which makes it possible to draw a comparison with the field maps of 1835 and the following years.

The preference of the sovereign for the art of drawing, for the plotting of drawings and maps has played a part in the new impetus which followed. The rational clarification and the easily perceptible presentation was in fashion at that time. Upon the instruction given by Gus a general cartographic surveying of the country was conducted all over the Electorate of Saxony. Ad. Frdr. Zuerner was in charge; he was appointed land and border commissioner and court geographer. He did a great deal of travelling around the country and conducted the surveying, but not for the individual local fields. On the basis of his work a magnificent volume was produced, the atlas of Augustus. In terms of cartography it is not of a high caliber; the same can be said of the atlas of Schenk, Amsterdam, which was cut at a later date; it can only be used as a presentation of the jurisdictional districts, their borders and the villages inside the borderlines. For the study of the history of the villages and the terrain and in particular for this type of land surveying the reports which have come in from the different areas

29) W. Emmerich, Field Maps from the times of Gus the Strong at the Leipzig Town Archives (essay, still unprinted); on Arnold's layout of the precinct of Sommerfeld East of Leipzig see the second part of this instructive essay.

and the Trenkmann-Zuerner tables are of importance, because they contain numerous data on the location, the property and the economy.³⁰⁾ Field maps were produced as well. Two groups of drawers have taken part: land surveyors who exercised a perfectioned art of measuring and drawing; among them we can find Hans Aug.Niernborg, Christ.Moritz, Dietz and Heinr.Francke . Then there were members of the engineering corps who were mainly concerned with the problems of military geography (Fuerstenhoff and Gravert). Hans Nierborg (around 1660 - 1729; surveyor, 1707 First Land Surveyor in the Electorate of Saxony) worked at Dresden and environment (Striesen, Strehlen) but also at Leipzig; he accepted also private assignments; model drawings, individual drawings and genuine field maps are his work: for Stoentzsch near Pegau, a field book as a map volume for Elstertrebnitz a.o. The organization of the Zeithain camp, that pompous review of the reestablished Saxonian army in 1729/30 for which a wide area was prepared in the environment, gave cause for the plotting of big field maps.³¹⁾ The pertinent map material is rich; however, the drawings concern only parts of the local fields which were incorporated into the area of the camp. However, thanks to their great exactitude (scale of appr. 1:20000) and the presentation of the three-fallow system, at times also with a clear local layout, they have exemplary value for the study of the history of the terrain. - Other quarters have also suggested field maps at that time. By far the most important work in this respect and unique in its kind is the atlas of the monastery of Sachsen-Merseburg from 1713 and the following years which has several volumes. On a very big scale it shows the shape of the villages and the division into field parcels; for each village there are several sheets; the field names are mentioned, but not the names of the proprietors; the typical shape

30) Central Sax. Arch. Dresden, Loc.9763-9765; 4 and 8 vol.(geographical news, local registers etc.) 31) H.Beschorner, Descr. and illustrations of the Zeithain camp (New Arch.Sax.Hist.27,103 and following pages; 28,50 and f. - Sketches for Glaubitz, Lichtensee, Streumen, Wuelknitz, Zeithain.)

of the local terrain can be clearly recognized but the distribution of property cannot be seen.³²⁾ Good work has been done at Leipzig and the immediate surroundings, particularly for the council's property, where the well known postmaster J.J.Kees auf Zoebigker has contributed; professional surveyors like J.Chr.Seyler (Connewitz and Pfaffendorf) and B. von Rohr took part as well.³³⁾ A further step in the development of the field books was done to help determine the future shape of the terrain. Under Gus' successor, Frederic Gus II. (Gus III. as King of Poland), when Heinrich von Bruehl was the first minister (1738) and top leader of the financial authorities in Saxony, general measures were taken to enforce the introduction of field books. The reasons for these measures were found in the taxation policy. The intention was to determine more exactly the inventory in regard to the accessories to the peasant land(hides) and their capacities. The first decisive decree was issued in 1741 during the first Silesian War.³⁴⁾ Instruction was given to introduce field books; regulations were given as to the way in which they had to be organized; a scheme was attached which underwent only little change subsequently. The listings have to be done as follows: At first there are the figures relating to the number of shocks for 1628 and 1688 for the purpose of comparison. Then comes first the individual consignment. A. Village, according to hides; house and yard, cattle, vehicles, lying ground (bushel of field or acre, summer and fall meadows, wood, vineyards according to pile heaps); summary of the shocks belonging to the subjects. B. Knightly manor; total of all shocks; C. Town. 2. Warnings: In item 12 it is said that where a distri-

32) State Archives of Magdeburg, maps A Xa Nos.1-7: Layouts on that area and district of Merseburg, 7th vols. The first instruction came known. The surveying, 1710-1728, covers the monastery area (4 areas), fields in the present territory of Saxony are only partly preserved.-Compare O.Kuastermann, Oldgeogr. and topogr. Exc. thru the Monastery of Merseburg (News on hist. ant. resch. vol. 16, 1883). 33) W. Emmerich, at above place. 34) Cod. Aug. Cont'd. II, sect., p. 205 and foll.: Gen. Instr. conc. Est. and Advice on new shock catastrophum acc. to presor. scheme and warning of Nov. 1, 1741. Sign. Dresden, Nov. 1, 1754, Ad. Frd. v. Schoenberg.-The field books usually refer to the decree and older decrees, part. that of 1704.

bution and individualization of land is customary (as in the Thuringian district) an accurate field register must be introduced and attached to the cadastre; according to location and regions, names and situation the individual pieces of land have to be given with the names of their proprietors; their size has to be specified. This measure introduced the notion and the purpose of a 'field register' into the practice of Saxonian administration. It is characteristic that the consideration of strongly divided terrain areas has given cause for this and that the Thuringian model has been guiding here.³⁵⁾ The idea of introducing such registers with field book-like entries was actually put into practice. Quite a number of examples can be found from 1735 to 1756 (for 24 localities).³⁶⁾ A general practice, however, was not possible. Bruehl's policy was directed more towards the tactics of foreign diplomacy than towards the interior order of the state. The financial administration became disorderly. In 1755 the first reliable table of population for the Electorate of Saxony was computed on account of the exact figure of inhabitants.³⁷⁾ One year after this the Seven Years War broke out.

Saxony became the battle field; alternately it was occupied by troops of the enemy and of the allied; its prosperity and its economy suffered greatly. After the suffering of the war the government set to work energetically; it turned away from the political system which had dominated hitherto and started a generous planning of a new state. The young court at Dresden, Elector-Prince Frederic Christian, took care of the job. In October 1760 a committee had been set up for the encouragement of 'the best of the country'.³⁸⁾ Prior to the end of hostilities on April 12, 1762 the 'Restauration Committee' was convoked

from Warsaw. Two days after the peace festival, on March 23, 1763, a general surveying was started in the Great Duchy of Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach; a so-called general revision instruction of Feb. 6, 1726 printed in 2. ed. in 1789/It is a real historic source, part for the Thuringian field division; the regulations are detailed.-The expression field book is not used. The term used

1763, the famous edict was issued to survey the country which was incumbent on the committee. After the advent of power of Frederic Christian (Oct.5,1763) Count Brushl was dismissed (Oct.13, deceased Oct.28). It was a painful loss that the Elector whose credit it was to have caused the change, deceased briefly afterwards (Dec.17,1763). He was followed by Frederic Gus III. whom the people gave the name of 'the Just' which was retained by the historians. Saxony entered a new epoch in its history. For four decades the policy was not diverted by developments abroad and it was busy to solve interior problems such as the health of public life and the quiet progress towards greater wellbeing. The restauration committee showed the way which led towards this direction. It was headed by Thomas v.Fritzsche who had taken a noteworthy part in the negotiations for the peace held at Hubertusburg.³⁹⁾ He came from the book-dealer town of Leipzig and he was acquainted with the reformatory endeavors in this town: He represented the new political conception which made itself felt in the planning of the reconstruction work. Influential members of the committee were Geh.Rat von Wurmb and the director of the Internal Revenue Collegiate v.Heringen; G.Wihl. Rabener who had previously been working with the Internal Revenue administration at Leipzig, was secretary of the committee at Dresden.⁴⁰⁾ The basic elements of the reform were intended to be the revival of jurisdiction, the training of a well educated officialdom for a genuine political mentality and zealous service. Prevalent were the measures of economic support in meaningful cooperation with agriculture, commerce and trade: at first the rise of credit and the facilitation of traffic, but then also

were inventory or camp book. - Comp.O.Graf: Surveying in the Duchy of Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach (Diss.Jena 1918). 36) Field books are registered as follows: LHA, Dresden, Rep. LIX C fol.180-218, Abt. IIA, IIIA. The oldest are: 1735 Rothersdorf; 1744 Collmen; 1746 Nischwitz, Gr.Storkwitz; 1746 Probstdeuben; 1750 Brandis, Kl.Hermsdorf, Johndorf, Lroptowitz, Schleenhain, Sitten; 1752 Machern, Sornzig and Klosterdoerfer (monastery villages); 1755 Herrschaft Trebsen, Neichen, Walzig, Zoehdau; Nerchau; Tettau; 1756: Gottscheina, Hohenheida, Merkwitz. 37) R.Wuttke, Sax.Aff., p.193. 38) H.Schmidt-Breitung, The Reconstruction of the Economy and the State Gov.in Sax.after the 7-Years War (1762-1768). N.Arch.f.Sax.Hist., 38, p.100 and foll.

cultivation of the deserted land - in brief: for the benefit of agriculture and forestry. It was a sign of progress that the 'Commercial Delegation' of 1764 was promoted to become an 'Economic, Manufacturing and Commercial Board'; at the same time the economic Society came into being at Leipzig which was a result of community efforts and self-help by great landed property owners and high/^{ranking} state officials. 41) Ideas of support were revived which previously had been expressed in regard to agriculture and taxation but which had not been put into practice. The most far reaching plan was the idea of a general surveying of the country to ascertain the property situation of landed property in general and in order to prepare a juster tax distribution. In the discussions which were held at the diet the representatives of the estates opposed (1766). They pointed out the cumbersome work connected with this plan and to the costs, but they apparently feared that their tax privileges would be curtailed; 42) again, a survey was not put into practice. But the advantages of the field books were so apparent that in numerous cases field books were used. The internal revenue authorities were the first to push this development. Even the lords of the manor were active in this direction. The appreciation of useful and clear knowledge which met the practical minded and reasonable mentality of those times, the accustomed to orderly and even cumbersome administration and the necessity for reliable data to form the state finances led to a development during which the introduction of field books and similar records began to become popular. This was particularly

39) For information about Fritzsche see W. Lippert, N. Arch. f. Sax. Hist., 21, supplement, festival publ. of the Sax. Soc. for Antiquity, 1901, p. 146 and the following.

40) General German Biography, vol. 27, p. 78 and the following.

41) K. Kohlsdorff, History of the Economic Society at Leipzig (Dissertation, Leipzig 1913).

42) O. Huettig, The Diet of the Electorate of Saxony of 1766. (1902).

true of the Leipzig area; often the situation became different, when the borders were crossed; in the Meissen and Erzgebirg as well as Vogtland districts field books are hardly used; this is explained by the activities of Rabener who had done surveying registers and as he told the people, had made up little stories, when he was on tour. Examples for his activities are given by the field books of the three old university villages of Hohenheida, Gottscheina and Merkwitz, then Leipzig-Gohlis, and some of the smaller villages between Leisnig and Grimma, and others.

During the climax of the period of rationalism Saxony has a well-organized field book system. The name of field register or field book was in common use; the way in which it was written was known and applied. The survey to be made of a locality begins with the inspection and the declarations made by the proprietors of the land and by the inn-keepers, in the presence of the village magistrate (judge or mayor) and of the representatives of the court. The field book is the official result of the investigations. At the beginning some general information is given on the geographical situation of the locality, the type of soil and the type of cultivation, the type of the peasant land, the distance from the market place and other useful data. Then we come to the two main parts of the field book for which tables are required with serial numbers. The first part contains the list of the land on which the living quarters are located, with the names of the proprietors, the house and the yards with the side buildings, gardens and other accessories; the sizes have always to be listed; the same applies to knightly estates and freeholds and non-taxable buildings of public law (churches, schools); then the places and roads have to be listed according to their location in the village. The second part contains the data on the fields. On the basis of an inspection of the fields the various sections of the fields, the marks, parcels and what-

ever they may be called, also the names of the fields, are ascertained and entered according to their location with data on the way in which they are used and according to their size number after number. The attachment of a field map is not required. In case a field has to be checked it is possible to ascertain it through the designation of the location and the number; this is done by residents of the locality. Information about the tax payments has to be attached as well; later on this was also required in regard to the ember tax. - The register is made known by reading it for the people; if necessary it is rectified; it is recognized by representatives of the locality who are witness and sign it; then it is sent to the internal revenue authorities and checked; then it is certified by the authorities and becomes valid; this procedure has often taken years, or decades till it was terminated. The basic procedure was established which the field books had to observe subsequently. In the records they were not found under the name of field book but under shock cadastre or shock and ember cadastre. - The compilation of the data was not connected with the drawings and the direct evidence for property of land. But such maps were produced more frequently now. The gentlemen of the nobility and the rich bourgeois owners of land enjoyed more and more the map pictures which showed their property. They liked to ornament the drawings with a little vignette; besides the basic layout the parcels they give often information about the owners and the size of the land, the type of cultivation and the utilization; sometimes such information is briefly given at the edges or it can be found on the attached sheets. Examples: Klein-Milkau near Rochlitz, Steinbach near Lausick, Grossopitz near Tharandt (1764). Also in Upper Lusatia quite valuable field maps were made upon the suggestion of the owners of estates: for Cunewalde, Cottmarsdorf, particularly for the Zinsendorf villages near Herrnhut (1764 and the following years; 1769).⁴³⁾

⁴³⁾ An inquiry by the Sax. Comm. f. Hist. 1902 resulted in the finding of a great number of field drawings; some of them were inspected at Dresden.

The production of field books and field maps was very thorough in each individual case, but the development as such was dispersed and slow. But in the field of military geography progress was made in cartography from which later on the drawing of field maps has benefitted. ⁴⁴⁾ During the 7-Years War Mayor von Petri plotted maps of Saxonian districts on the order of Frederic the Great; they excelled previously plotted maps by the topographically exact presentation of the layout of the terrain; for many localities they were the first evidence. This was surpassed by the surveying which was started by the Saxonian leaders of the army since 1779/80 (after the Bavarian War of Succession). For the bordering ^{Erzgebirg} areas along the Bohemian boundary Mayor Friedrich Ludwig Aster started a surveying on the basis of a trigonometric measuring (triangulation); it was applied also to other parts of Saxony up to 1806; after a short interruption it was resumed but in 1812 it was discontinued again. On the basis of this surveying a cartographic presentation came into being (engineering map) which had as a scale 1 : 12 000 on sheets which comprise a square mile each; it is, therefore, called 'Meilen' (miles). ⁴⁵⁾ It is famous in technical respect because it applied a new type of terrain presentation by means of shadings which was invented by Mayor J.Gg. Lehmann (1799, deceased in 1809 as director of the planning office at Dresden). This is important for the knowledge of the soil quality in the local fields and for the location of the locality the layout of which - one of the most important basic factors in colonization - had to be reproduced with a degree of exactitude which had not been attained hitherto.

44) A. Nagel, The surveys in the Kingdom of Saxony (1876). H. Beschoner, History of Sax. Cartography, p.18 and the following.
 45) One copy of the 'Meilenblaetter' (mile sheets) is filed at the Central Sax. Archives at Dresden; one is at the former Prussian State Library, presently at Marburg, a third at the archives of the former Mining Office at Freiberg.

In the meantime new conceptions had announced their appearance in agriculture and in the state; they promised to make a change in the field conditions and the taxation system of the state which was based on them. Agrarian reformers, in scientific quarters G.Leske (Professor of Natural Sciences and Economics at the University of Leipzig) and the Secretary of the Economic Society Joh.Riem at Dresden ⁴⁶⁾, among the practical agriculturists particularly J.Schubart (v.Kleefeld) demanded improvements if the agricultural work (of small scope) and an increase in cultivation of fodder plants and commercial plants; this would have meant the incorporation of the fallow ground which was used in summer only rarely, into the area of cultivation, and the limitation of the fallow pasture land; it would have threatened the still prevalent agrarian setup with the three-fallow system and the pasture-land privileges. The new ideas had grave consequences in regard to liberty and equality before the law, among the representatives of the estates and in the state in general; the example given by the French revolution certainly had an influence in this respect. In 1790 peasant revolts took place which spread from the Lommatz area and the Elbe regions to the Erzgebirge and the Western parts of the country; they were not directed against the sovereign, but more against the lords of the manor and particularly against their officials and court administrators. Although the movement was soon beaten down, the insight into a need for a reform remained as far as rural conditions were concerned; a certain desire to change was felt even in government circles, but no quick action was taken. The discussion about the taxes on the land became more acute; an exact assessment of all taxable fields all over the country was demanded, to create a just basis for taxation (1790/1).⁴⁷⁾ When the Reich

46) K.Kohlsdorf, at above passage, p.15.

47) G.H.v.Roemer, About the Decay of the Towns, particularly of the towns in the Electorate of Saxony (Dresden 1791), p.190.
- W.Behrendts, see next foot-note, p.89.

wars made the procurement of greater amounts of taxes necessary, a tax relief was demanded at the Diet in 1793/4, but especially an action against the liberation of the knightly estates from taxation. The tax reform was not put into practice. But the discussion on the land tax system, the difficulties and the costs of a general revision of the fields which an assessment of the land according to net profit would have supported, continued in public under great excitement.⁴⁸⁾ On the part of the state plans and land books were introduced to ascertain the cost of the procedure. This was mainly done in the district of Pegau; an example for this is the exact and beautiful field map of Stoentzsch near Pegau with explanations. (1793)⁴⁹⁾. A new instruction to the tax auditors concerning the field books was given on October 14, 1799⁵⁰⁾ where reference is made to previous decrees (back to 1741); they were to consist of introductory information, individual lists and field descriptions; data according to estimates of the land were still preferred to exact surveying; the reason was the cost factor involved. When the diet met again in 1799, the political fight attained its climax; a compromise was found, but the problem of the reform of the land tax kept the mind alive. Developments in foreign policy had their sharp impact, when Napoleon pushed forward to almost the Saxonian borderline: the entanglement of Saxony into the fight in 1806, then the joining of the Rhine Federation (Rheinbund), the influence of the French army with its requests to the Saxonian army and in regard to finances. The tax reform in the sense of an increase of taxes but with a juster distribution and with an elimination of the exemption of the estates from taxation, could not be stopped. Since 1809 decrees were issued which intended

48) Wilh. Berendts, Reform Movements in the Electorate of Saxony during the French Revolution (1914), p. 37 and the foll., 71 and f. 49) LHA Dresden, Drawings XIII, Sec. 3, 16. 50) Cod. Aug. II. cont'g. Abt. 1067 and foll., p. 1071 and the foll. concerning the field books.

to prepare the way.⁵¹⁾ The first was again the investigation, the exact ascertaining of the soil conditions to create a basis for the taxation without excluding the knightly and other tax-exempt estates from being covered. The diet of 1811 could not ignore these quests. Investigations to ascertain the field conditions were actually undertaken with vigour.⁵²⁾ Field books proper were the exception. The information was mostly contained in bundles of records; but the contents was accordingly: general information about the areas and the economic conditions in the terrier districts or village fields, consignations of the house land and their owners, then tables on the cattle and other data which were of importance for the assessment. In different parts of the country the survey was started simultaneously, particularly in the Leipzig district. The production of maps was not connected with all this. But they were not lacking entirely. Soon there were difficulties and resistance trends. In 1812 the undertaking came to a standstill.⁵³⁾ The staggering devents in the year of the Russian campaign by Napoleon, then the German battle of liberation against French domination in 1813, in Saxony, where patriotic mentality was prevalent ^{among} in the people and where the people took part more suffering than acting, did not leave time nor restfulness for the reformatory work which had been started; moreover the government lacked the energy of taking a decision. In spite of all the sacrifices which were made, the end of the battles were determined for Saxony by guilt and destiny: When he returned home/^{King} Frederic Gus found only a smaller area, after the conclusion of peace at Vienna in 1815 (May 18); today Saxony has the same extension.

51) LHA Dresden, Loc. 2507, 2508, 2511. Problems and decisions discussed at the Diet in 1776 and their more precise determination, concerning tax exemption or taxability of land and the guiding principles for this, 1804 and the following years. 52) Decree of July 9, 1812, Introduction of a new tax system and land tax to provide for increased new or extraordinary state needs: Cod. Aug. III. Cont'd. II, p. 489 and the following. 53) LHA, Loc. 2412. Acta, The setting up of a new committee for the examination ... of suggestions made in connection with a new tax system, vol. II, 450 and following.

After the staggering events of 1813/15 and the fight for the existence and the territory of the state Saxony entered a quieter period again. The generally recognized principle was that gains had to be made by the inner forces to compensate for the loss of external power. The first thing the government had in mind was the restauration of the previously existing order. This restauration was intended to be adapted to the smaller territory. Within the scope of this policy the attention was also focused on the land and the rural order, but the time and the success depended upon the political views which were prevalent. The leadership was incumbent upon the Secret Cabinet under Count Detlev von Einsiedel who held the position of a minister. The Secret Council was only authorized to discuss general affairs affecting the country; the president of the Treasury and the president of War Office as well as the chancellor who was at the head of the government (von Werthern) belonged to it. The administration was streamlined; the country was divided into 14 districts under supreme bailiffs (1816) who controlled financial affairs and the forests; the Schoenburg domains and Upper Lusatia were excluded from this organization. The constitution which was based on the representation of the estates, was not reformed, although some hope was expressed at the Diet in 1817 for a ^{re-}juvenation. It was the same after each war: the economic problems were the most urgent questions to be solved. This did not only apply to industry and traffic but also to agriculture. Before the partition of the country had taken place fears were voiced that after the loss of the fertile agricultural areas in the North Saxony would not be able to continue to exist. The situation was particularly difficult because in 1817/20 bad harvests resulted in an agrarian crisis. Another factor played a part: Plans for Reforms had been examined for a generation already; they were not solemnly promised but they had been tackled already and re-

cognized as a necessity. Some steps were really taken. Self-help of the peasants did also its part. From the Economic Society at Leipzig an Economic Society in the Kingdom of Saxony had emerged in 1817 with the seat at Dresden. But the Leipzig Society was reestablished in 1824; it dealt mainly with problems of support for farms (cultivation tests; management of the farm at Moeckern later on under the leadership of Dr. Crusius)⁵⁴. The government took measures which viewed the future. In the field of economic and financial administration an assignment was given to Dr. v. Schlieben to conduct a financial survey of the entire country;⁵⁵ it formed the basis for the publication of a map of Saxony with the scale 1 : 120 000 (since 1830). Although in topographical respect it cannot be considered as one of the best performances in Saxony, it has a certain importance for the history of field maps. In 1819 trial surveys were conducted to a great extent.⁵⁶ New field books were not lacking; they excelled previous field books by their finer analysis of economic and social conditions, by their thoroughness and even by their formalism.⁵⁷ Mention must be made of the fact that the most important cartographic enterprise for the entire country, the Meilenblaetter (mile sheets), were completed in 1825; since 1819 an atlas was prepared with a reduced scale. Without much publicity a good deal of work was done in this respect. After King Frederick Gus' death on May 5, 1827, under his successor Anton and after the entrance into the Secret Council of younger members (von Koerneritz as chancellor of the government, B. v. Lindenau, then director of the Department of Economy) the government turned to the reformatory plans with greater zeal. The reform of the land tax was taken up; it had been shelved so often already, but on Aug. 11, 1828 a decree was issued concerning the preparation of a new land tax system.⁵⁸ The instructions for the organization of the new land tax system were issued on Dec. 31, 1828. 55) LHA, Dresden, Loc. 36641 (Rep. LII, Spec. 3303). Reports by v. Schlieben. 56) LHA, Dresden, Loc. 41254, Rep. XL, no. 484, Acta, Principles for field books and tax cadastres, 1822/32. 57) LHA, Rep. LIX D (Fin. Arch.) e.g. Bernsgruen, Lauter, Mittelfrohn. 58) Decree concerning trial survey and assessment for new land tax system, Aug. 11, 1826; Coll. laws and regulations for Kingdom of Saxony, 1828, p. 196 and the following years.

of a new taxation system for landed property.⁵⁸ The instructions keep close to those of 1812 and complements them in re-
 gard to ^{the} measuring in the fields ^{with the purpose} to carefully ascertain the pro-
 ductive capacity of the land to be able, thereafter, to lay down
 the tax payments in a just manner; this again is a testimony
 of Saxonian thoroughness; however, it is not an example for
 quick action. When the Diet met in 1830, which was expected
 with apprehension, the drafts which had been made for the re-
 formatory laws on the change of the land taxes, the new assess-
 ment methods and the new community order could not be submitted.
 This aroused the indignation again: the preparation of the laws
 was again requested for the new diet; the language used in the dis-
 cussion for the tax money by the representatives of the estates
 was much sharper than had been customary hitherto. The Diet was
 adjourned to 1812.

The immediate reason for the decisive steps was a revolution-
 ary movement. Riots broke out at Leipzig on September 2; the same
 happened at Dresden on the 9th, where political claims were ad-
 vanced. A striking success was obtained: on September 13/14 Count
 Einsiedel accepted his dismissal, Prince Frederic Gus was appoin-
 ted co-sovereign, Bernhard von Lindenau was appointed leading mi-
 nister. The unrest died down quickly. The way for a state reform
 was paved. The diet was convoked for the discussion of a new
 constitution; The first draft was made by v. Lindenau; it was ela-
 borated by H.Gg.v. Carlowitz. On September 4, 1831 it was adopted
 and promulgated at the end of the diet session. Determined pro-
 gress in the adaption to the changes which had taken place in the
 economy and society, and the useful maintenance of state preser-
 ving forces were combined in it; this became apparent in the new
 laws and measures of the great period of reform which set in. We
 are here interested in this only to the extent as this is of im-
 portance for the field books and field maps.

Now Saxony was a state which was united under a constitution with a uniform state territory; after negotiations with the local estates (1834) Upper Lusatia was included as well as the Schoenburg domains (1835). In the Diet the division according to professions was noticed by the fact that besides the knights and the towns the peasants were given the right to send representatives. As a logical consequence the governing administration of the country was reorganized on November 1, 1830. The Secret Cabinet and the Secret Council were dissolved; A ministry with 6 Departments was established according to the different fields of administration. Two may be mentioned which are of particular importance for agrarian legislation: The Ministry of the Interior which gave the direction for political life (under v. Lindenau), and the Treasury which represented the central point in the administration under v. Zeschau who acquired great credit through learned and methodical performance. Financial agencies which were separate previously, were united (rent chamber and regional taxation) and a uniform finance administration was created; The possession of the crown was given to the state manor. The new laws which put state and society on another basis were promulgated within a few years. The first reformatory law which came into being and which was particularly urgent, was the general municipal order of Feb. 2, 1832. On March 17, 1832 it was followed already ^{by} the law on commutations and divisions of common land which introduced a new rural order; on April 1, 1832 regulations about the elimination of serfdom in Upper Lusatia and the reform of the lease property and ordinary property into free property followed. Then came the law on the merger of land dated June 14, 1834 which had been discussed by the ^{constituent} first diet which also adopted it. In the description of the agrarian constitution the significance of this law for the liberation of the peasants and for the field order will be examined. At this point it is sufficient to note that the steps in this di-

rection with their profound impact for the division of the land are only the introduction of a new trend, when the regulations were published which prepared the general surveying of the country with the production of field books and field maps.

The reform of taxation of landed property which was started over and over again without being put into practice, was now one of the most pressing problems of greatest practical importance for the newly formed state. On the first constituent diet the discussion dealt with these questions; on October 30, 1834 a decision was made about the principles to be applied and incorporated into the final decision of the session. The goal was an equal distribution of the state burden lying on the landed property according to the size of the land to be ascertained with exactitude and according to the value of the net profit. This ^{the} time/problem was tackled more energetically, and the solution was found quicker than expected. The execution belonged to the competency of the Treasury under state minister v. Zeschau. On February 7, 1835 a decree was issued for the preparation of a new system of taxation for landed property⁵⁹. A 'Central Committee' was appointed headed by Dr. v. Schlieben who was acquainted with the job on account of the financial surveying done previously. The first step was a general decree of the Treasury of the same date to the justice officials of the country concerning the clarification of the field and property boundaries and the sending in of field registers⁶⁰. At first an introductory survey had to be established. The boundaries of the fields were not clearly fixed. Now each field had to get its clear-cut boundaries; on this basis the tax administration could be built. The field registers were to list according to serial numbers all land situated within the boundaries of the village ^{terrain} which were separated from

59) Official gazette for the Kingdom of Saxony of 1835. - Records on the activities on the Central Committee, at LHA (Central Sax. Arch.), Dresden, Financial Arch., Reg. 207, Tax matters, sheet 120 and the following.

60) Re field lists see H. Beschorner, Bull. Soc. for Sax. Aff. III 244 and following; Hist. geogr. works, p. 50 and the following.

other pieces of land; they were to be listed as they were located side by side, according to the names of the marks, sections and parcels or, where these were non-existent, according to the direction. Data on the size of the land could only be given according to judgment by eyesight or on the basis of knowledge; similar methods were used for information on the quality and the yield of the land (as field, meadow, garden etc.). The listings was done partly according to the turn of their location as it is done during an inspection., partly according to the owners and their accessories. Request was made to sent the information as quickly as possible; however, it was delayed up to 1842. For the tradition and the history of the local terrain these field and land lists are of importance because of the numerous field names given in them and because of the general data on the size and type of land, as they were taken out from the hitherto traditional customs and conceptions; they reflect the older agrarian conditions much better than the survey results which are available later on. Moreover, the lists contain very often numbers which lead directly back to the field books of older date. In Upper Lusatia such field books were not written; but upon official suggestions lists on the names of the lots were compiled in 1844 which give the designations of the fields. Another decree requested older field maps, sketches, previous surveying results and records referring to them. The external frame for further action was provided by the division of the country into 4 districts areas which were formed in 1835 and the district tax income established for them on Nov. 1, 1834 (22); in Upper Lusatia the localities which belonged to a municipal or rural district were listed separately.

With circumspection and energy the Central Committee tackled its assignment, the great surveying of the country. The first job was to draft the layout and the guiding principles for the method to be applied, to elaborate the instructions according to which the work had to be done. Three main sections were estab-

lished:

A: Surveying, B: Assessment and evaluation, C: establishment of the cadastres.

The experience which had been made with previous trials, particularly in 1828/9, was most useful. But according to the new principles established new investigations had to be made; opinions had to be given, memorandums had to be authorized which were often most elaborate and contained a wealth of information; they were submitted and discussed. Inspection trips were made to various areas of Saxony to ascertain geological-agronomic facts; Then trips were made abroad to study different conditions and to benefit from experiences made abroad; assistant members of the committee and experts took part in all this, particularly Dr. Runde who wrote a detailed report on the economic conditions prevailing, and also Professor Schweitzer of the Academy of Forestry at Tharandt. A very voluminous documentary material is available on the entire development with minute-like records, inquiries, return-questions and advices, also cartographic enclosures; it is a highly profitable source material for a presentation of the rural conditions of those reformatory times providing the opportunity to draw conclusions in regard to the history of agriculture. At the diet committees preliminary reports were made of current developments of the project.

A. The Surveying.

It was not difficult to give instructions for the surveying because they could adhere to previous experience. The surveying must be done according to local terrains which are laid down as smallest taxation units. Excluded from the survey are the crown lands and the state forests because they remain tax-exempt (Decree #9). The ascertainment of the real surface of the individual plots (parcels) has to be done by means of chains and only in exceptional cases, if the terrain is cut, by means of a plane table. The scale is the Saxonian acre (300 square perches), the

surveyor's perch at $7 \frac{1}{2}$ ells and 2 inches; metric measurements have been introduced only later on ('Acker': 55.34 are; perch: 4.295 m). The results of the various measurements have to be entered on the plane table sheets (1 : 1820 up to 2730); a small degree of error which would be considered acceptable, was determined. For each local district there are 20 to 30 of such sheets on the average. It was necessary to recruit and to train the people who were used for the surveying (sworn surveyors and others). The first surveying which was made did not meet the established standards of exactitude to the fullest extent. But performance improved in quality. Therefore, the measuring done in the Meissen district, where the surveying was started, is less favorable than in other parts which were surveyed later, although the latter are more difficult to survey because of their mountainous regions.

B. Evaluation.

More difficulties were encountered during the evaluation, the ascertainment of the quality of the soil in proportion to the productive capacity of agriculture. After long preparations the instructions on the principles to be applied were issued on March 30, 1838. According to these instructions the different types of soil, the composition of the soil cover which determined plant cultivation, and the gradient of the ground had to be taken into account. In regard to the economic aspect it had to be borne in mind that the three-fallow-system was prevalent in the country. But there were also other types of agriculture which had to be considered. For the assessment for purposes of taxation this was not done by means of a field description but by means of calculation resulting in gradations. Different classes were distinguished among the acres (excellent, medium, poor). The distinction was made more exact by forming intermediary grades: $\frac{3 \text{ plus } 4}{2}$ or $\frac{6 \text{ plus } 7}{2}$ etc. According to the regulation it was not suf-

ficient to list only one land or meadow grade for each property, but the land had to be subdivided into different parts the grade of which had to be entered separately. It was difficult to determine a uniform grade of soil for the entire property.

C. Cadastral Registration.

The surveying and evaluation was followed by the establishment of cadastres in a twofold way: field books with the incorporated sketch map of the terrain and the property register were compiled to complement each other. The purpose of the field books is the evidence for individual parcels in their natural location, their size and manner of cultivation. They are divided into three parts:

A: Village (area of village); B: field(terrain); C: roads and paths, rivers and similar factors. In the section on the village not only the land with the living quarters are listed but also others, for instance pasture, ponds, meadows, even small field pieces which belong to the village area. The parcels of the terrain(fields) are divided according to their location in the terrain, usually according to sections which are often given the names of the terrain (field); at times they are only designated according to roads etc. The entries are made according to columns in table form.

1. Serial number;
2. Name and Christian name of the owner but without exact indication of vocation or economic activities; name of community, church, school, state; at times common property;
3. Account (according to order at the property cadastre);
4. Designation of type of land. Then the columns for the sizes.
5. Buildings and yard space, partly according to the value (Taler), partly estimated according to size of surface;
6. Acre (field);
7. Garden;
8. Meadows;
9. Wood as high and low forests;
10. Pasture;
11. Ponds;
12. Vineyards and other plantations;
13. Sand -pits;
14. The grade of soil;
15. Total size of parcels;
16. Tax units.

Then there is a column for remarks.

The final part is the calculation of the areal surface for all types of cultivation and the entire area according to arable land and square perches; finally, there is the total number of tax units besides the size of the non-taxable area. At the end there is the recognition and certification with the date, usually with the signature of v. Schlieben.

The property register (cadastre in the sense proper) is organized according to the taxable proprietors who are listed under their account number, with data on all the parcels belonging to them with the numbers and types of cultivation, and the total size of their property.

The terrain sketches are used for illustration and for ascertaining the location of the parcels; they are pasted into the field books. The sketch is a picture-like presentation of the location and the shape of the parcels according to their natural order of succession. They were transferred from the plane table sheets on a reduced scale, usually 1 : 9800, and present in a clearly surveyable manner the distribution of the parcels in the whole terrain. The numbers of the field books are entered into the parcels; then there are small colored dash lines indicating the types of cultivation: yellow for arable land, green for meadow, grey for copse, blue for water, brown for roads and paths. Field names or field designations cannot be found in them. Details of the terrain are not given either (contour lines etc.). Only distance parallels are used because the distance of the field from the house has to be considered in regard to the use made of the field and in regard to taxation. Often side sketches are added, particularly in order to show the village area with the land on which the living quarters are located, on a larger scale. Partly these small side sketches show also small field parts with dwarf-size divisions. In regard to the size and direct usability these sketches are not as good as the older field maps of the 18th century, when we think of the

evaluation of the economy and peasant life. Their significance in connection with the history of agriculture and colonization is based on the fact that they are available for the entire territory of Saxony thanks to the land surveying done around 1835. Their scale is clear enough and they permit us to ascertain the distribution of the colonial and field shapes.

The great land surveying of Saxony was continued at great speed. In 1842 the surveying was terminated, for 3412 fields in about the same number of field books and field sketches; in 1843 the entire work was finished. Dr. A. v. Langenn, chairman of the Statistical Association in Saxony, addressed a letter of appreciation to the director of the Central Committee about the important performance and expressed his great satisfaction⁶¹. In regard to the preservation of the field documents, the plane table sheets and copies of the field books were filed at the Central Office of the tax surveying agency at the Treasury in Dresden, then also at the cadastre and surveying office at the Department of the Interior. The original field books with the sketches remained with the district internal revenue offices; copies and transcripts of the sketches were sent to the various local communities. On September 9, 1843, after a discussion at the Diet, the law on the introduction of the new taxation system for landed property was published; the reform was successfully completed. An order had been created which ranks high in the history of the constitution and administration of Saxony; but more than this: Saxony obtained the leading position in the whole of Germany. This is particularly true of the field maps; although at the same period, and even one decade prior to this, field maps were also produced in other parts of Germany, no other German state possessed such a uniform cartographic system for its entire territory as Saxony. On March 21, 1844 the Central Committee was dissolved.

61) LHA (Central Sax. Arch.), Dresden, Loc. 33 315, Setting up, constitution and management of the Central Committee, vol. II, fol. 90.

Regarding the other agrarian laws of those times, they are of interest here only so far as they would have an impact on the contents of the field books and field sketches⁶². The previously adopted reformatory laws on the commutation and the division of common land (1832) and on the merger of land (1834) had a direct influence on the field conditions, so that the picture which the surveying of 1835 reflected did not show the historic tradition to the fullest extent any longer. However, this careful warning cannot always be substantiated. Of course, the measures which were taken and which found expression by the mentioned laws, have to be considered, when we study the history of the terrain. But it must be emphasized that these laws did not enforce a general execution in regard to the commutations and the mergers but only prepared the way for a state regulation of the procedure which would have to be respected upon the motion of the individual party concerned (provocation). This trend was felt only in a very gradual way; the execution took decades; it was delayed till a preliminary conclusion was reached. There is an important distinction to be observed in regard to the field map tradition: In the commutation we have to do with a precise ascertainment of the money value of the work connected with the land because it was to be replaced later on by a rent or a capital which was 25 times greater. Therefore, field maps can hardly be found in the records dealing with the commutation; on the other hand we find numerous data on the holders of peasant land and on the economic conditions during the period of the great surveying of the country as in the past. In this respect we have to refer particularly to the entries made in the books which were established at the state rent offices and which at times permitted a comparison back to the former official records and terriers⁶³.

62) The laws mentioned in the following are printed in the official gazette to the Kingdom of Saxony.-M.H.Kloessel, Sax. Agrarian Legislation. For admin. officials and agriculturalists (1902).-Details see below: chap. II, sec. 2c on the Sax. liberation of peasants.

63) LHA, Dresden, fin. arch., regist. districts 2, sheet 2, pertinent indications. See also Loc. 22 775, evaluation of new and changed tax property.

The divisions and mergers deeply affected the organization of rural property distribution which were intended to create more favorable conditions for the development of civilization in Saxony. The idea was to avoid the dispersal of a great number of small plots of land and to replace this order by a system in which a smaller number of larger plots of land are given to the individual peasant.⁶⁴ To this end a General Committee for land division and Mergers was appointed which had its seat at the offices of the prefect of the district of Dresden-Neustadt. When an application had been made for a division or merger, the instructions were given for the execution. This necessitated long and difficult investigations, also in regard to the claims and the outbalancing of opposing claims and plans, till a new plan was created which found approval. A great number of records were compiled in this way with data on the soil and property conditions; this was of great economic value. Sketches of the fields were also required. The new field plan after the division and merger was a field map which replaced the old field sketch. Only for 127 fields mergers were started and encouraged⁶⁵, prior or during the execution of the reform of taxation. In the cases of 42 fields the field sketches were drafted only after the merger, that is to say after or in the year in which the new field plan was issued, so that older conditions which are of interest for the historians of agriculture, are not shown on them. It is established that that the field sketches of 1835/43 mostly show the conditions prevailing prior to the mergers and divisions; this means that they can be used in the research on the history of the terrain. The execution of the mergers in Saxony is described by an instructive survey by O. Siebers which gives us exact information on the developments with data on the size of the field and with the number of parcels⁶⁶.

64) K. Gg. J. Teuthorn, The Sax. Law on Commutation and Divisions of March 17, 1832; its formulation and consequences (1904). 65) H. Beschoner in: Hist. Geogr. Works, p. 57. 66) Statistical Bulletin on the mergers of land in the Kingdom of Saxony from 1833 to June 30, 1887. Edited by the Royal Prefecture of Dresden as Gen. Comm. for Commutation and Division of Land. Mag. Stat. Off. XXXIII (1887), Suppl. p. 1 and f. cont'd. dto. XXXVI (1890). - v. Bernwitz, dto. XLIII (1897), suppl. p. 49 and f.

From among the practical agriculturists two examples were given for the beneficial effect of the mergers; these examples showed two different types of fields and illustrated the cases by map pictures⁶⁷. Later on, the Saxonian Cultural Office produced booklets descriptive of several examples of property distribution in the villages; this property was characterized by typical layouts and the presentation was in color; it was intended for official use. The distribution of the executed mergers over the country has been illustrated by cartographic surveys. It clearly shows the instructive fact that the distribution of the various settlement shapes and therewith the history of colonization of the country is reflected here. The mergers took place in the regions where the settlements were old and where the large quadrangular fields were strongly subdivided, whereas the forest hide villages mostly did not need a merger and new formation of large closed field areas to meet the requirements of the new agricultural techniques.

The bill for rural communities dated Nov. 7, 1838 did not bring anything new which would have been of importance for the presentation of the terrain on maps⁶⁸. The notion of the community is still formulated in such a way that the local district and the village terrain do not necessarily need to be the same: the knightly manors remained principally estate districts besides the farms for which local law was applicable, whereas the village area comprise the two. However, the local sovereignty could be reserved to the holder of the manor. The old community was distinguished from the political village community; only those belonged to it who had rights on the remaining community land; in the field books it can be mentioned as the holder of a title. The traditional social division continued to exist: hidesmen, gardeners, cottagers and fellow-lodgers. The social standing of the individuals was the determining factor in the field books for those who were listed only with their names. The law con-

67) On land mergers in the Kingdom of Saxony. Publ. at the occasion of the Sax. Agric. Exhibition at Zwickau in 1882. With 4 maps on land mergers in the terrain of Mengendorf near Riesa and Oberschuetz near Doebeln (1882).

68) H. Kunze, The Rural Community and its Position in the State in the Kingdom of Saxony (1919), p. 38 and the f. 55 and the f. 75.

cerning the acquisition of peasant land of June 13, 1837 which repealed the limitation of trade and the protection of the farms⁶⁹ could lead to important changes in the property distribution, and also in the division of the terrain, if it was applied to a great extent. However, prior to the execution of the surveying in 1835 and the following years this effect was not noticeable, so that the field sketches still showed the conditions prevailing prior to the elimination of the regulations which hindered the transition of farm land of the peasants into other hands. Very soon trends were felt according to which the land belonging to the manors should be preserved. Whereas in the past the problem of the separated pieces of land had played an important part, now the problem came up, whether it was permitted to sell the land; there was a lively discussion on this topic, in public, at the Diet both in regard to the knightly estates and the farmland of the peasants⁷⁰. The result was a law on the divisibility of landed property of Nov. 30, 1843 the so-called dismemberment law which was promulgated in the same year as the law on the reform of the taxation system. The authority to seel land was limited to one third of the tax units computed in the field books. This did not count the rolling pieces of land.

The handling of the law did not affect the cartographic presentation.

The surveying of 1835/43 which served the purposes of the land tax had had an importance in Saxony which can be compared with the usual cadastre of 1628. Subsequently, it was maintained as a basis. The change in property which increased and became more vivid through the liberating and solving effect of the agrarian reform, in the long run did not result in the introduction of new field books with sketches; only in a few cases which were caused by mergers which took place, a second field book followed the first. The administration took recourse to additions which were added to the field books; in the case of the field sketches the changes were entered (in red ink) which impaired the originally clear picture. New field maps were made for the crown land which was not considered by the survey-

⁶⁹) Collection of laws and decrees for the Kingdom of Saxony, 1837, p. 67 and the following. ⁷⁰) dto. 1843, p. 189 and the following pages.

ing of 1835 and the following years, because it was tax-exempt. These maps, which are younger than those and which were produced only in individual cases, are already characterized by their size, carefulness and neatness of drawing technique (crown land of Lossnitz near Grossschirma)⁷¹. Their usability for historic research is considerable because the changing developments through divisions and mergers are not applicable among these estates.

As the field sketches do not offer a picture of the terrain in all the details but only a linear structure of parcels it is fortunate that at the time, when the surveying was made, a topographic map was published which equalled the best performance in Saxonian cartography and is particularly suitable for research on the history of the terrain: the 'Topographic Atlas of the Kingdom of Saxony' which appeared as a copperplate print under the leadership of the director of the Office of Military Planning J.H.A. Oberreit (deceased in 1856) since 1837 and which was completed with 22 sections in 1860⁷². The basis for the work were the 'Meilen' (miles) previously mentioned after they had been improved and after the presentation had become more refined in topographical respect. The scale is 1 : 57 600, in a proportion which is similar to the Zimmermann map and which cannot be considered inconvenient when it is put into relationship with the field sketches. Here we find the terrain, the waters, the ways and paths, the field names and other information which is of importance in legal and economic respects so that both united, the 'Oberreit' and the field sketches, form an overall picture. Only with the help of the Oberreit it is possible to determine the contents of the field sketches in genuinely geographical respect.

Saxony's entrance into the North German Alliance in 1866 and into the German Reich in 1870/71 which is epoch-making in political history and significant also for the administration of Saxony, have affected the field books and the field sketches only to a very small extent. The division of the state territory into 4 district prefec-

71) District Surveyor's Office at Freiberg.

72) v. Zanthier, J.A.H. Oberreit Saxonian Biographies, I., 294 and the following pages.

tures and 25 (later on 27) districts with a supreme bailiff which were introduced by legislation in 1873, reorganized the authority of the official administration. In the same year the organization of the towns was revised and a new bill for rural communities was promulgated on April 24, 1873 according to which the supreme bailiff should be the sovereign on the local level, but a community authority was to be formed from the community itself; the separation according to the former social classes no longer existed⁷³. The district tax income remained and the competent offices had to keep the field books. In the long run it could not be sufficient to enter and add the changes in property into the field documents of 1835 and the following years, because due to the increase in property changes they lost their clarity and made it difficult to ascertain the locations speedily. New ways were introduced on the field maps which had been introduced at the occasion of the mergers. Consequently, the administration decided to produce new field books and maps. No new surveying was conducted for the entire Saxonian territory. This was done only in individual cases at some localities and parts of land; but soon this was done more often. These field sketches distinguish themselves from the former maps. They have a much larger scale (often 1 : 2 000); They make it possible to check the measuring and to reestablish the sizes; they are very neat and pleasant in their area shades (arable land is brown, meadow is green, forest is grey, buildings are red).

More extensive was the change on the topographical maps and other maps based on them⁷⁴. The Oberreit forms the basis for several maps, i.e. for the 'Topographical Maps of the Kingdom of Saxony' 1 : 100 000 with some corrections made on it which the topographical office of the Saxonian general staff published in 1863/68 (the so-called map of the general staff). Since 1875 its geographical

73) Revised Bill for Rural Areas (communities), dated April 24, 1873, Collection of laws and decrees for the Kingdom of Saxony, 1873, p. 318 and the following pages.

74) H. Beschorner, History of Sax. Cartography, p. 21 and the following pages. - Information can also be found in the list of published or prepared maps, published by the Reich Office for Topography.

length was slightly changed to become adapted to the maps used in the neighboring countries, particularly in Prussia, and to be incorporated into the 'Map of the German Reich 1 : 100 000. The 'Graduation Map of the Kingdom of Saxony 1 : 25 000' has a larger scale; it was published by the topographical office of the general staff together with the Treasury (1875/88). A new surveying was not conducted. From former maps it distinguished itself by the way in which it presented the terrain: in one of the editions it is shown by contour lines, in another by brown shading. It is impressive by its simple clarity; both in topographical respect and historic observation it has not the same value as other topographies published in Saxony. A new surveying was conducted on the basis of triangulation and in connection with the European graduation under the leadership of Chr. Aug. Nagel since 1885; it forms the basis for the new Topographic Map 1 : 25 000, the so-called plane table sheets according to the Prussian method of drawing (since 1904). Further progress was made by the 'Topographical Survey Map of the German Reich' 1 : 200 000 which has been published on and off since the beginning of the 20th century. All these maps offer a geometrically exact layout of the localities and a perfected topographical presentation. The field boundaries and several field names have been incorporated into the younger plane table sheets, but not the lines which show the property distribution.

The topographical maps show the land surface with all its characteristics, but the evaluation of the terrain necessitates also the knowledge of the earth layer and of the different types of soil as they are shown by the maps of the geological land surveying with impressive clarity⁷⁵. Professors of the famous Freiberg mining academy, C.F. Naumann and B. Cotta created the geognostic special map of the Kingdom of Saxony in 1830/44 which is based on the surveying map of v. Schlieben 1 : 120 000. The simultaneity with the field

⁷⁵) Frz. Kossmat, Geological Survey of Saxony (1925).

sketches is less important here; the scale is smaller. If we want to evaluate the condition of the soil and to compare with the field sketches, we have to study the 'Geological Special Map of the Kingdom of Saxony' which was edited by H. Credner, Professor of Geology at the University of Leipzig and Director of the Geological Institute of Saxony, upon the instruction given by the Treasury; he worked on it since 1872, on the basis of the plane table sheets 1 : 25 000; the explanations which are given here, consider also the properties of the soil which are of importance for agriculture. In 1908 the work was finished. A new more refined edition of various sections was prepared later on. A geological survey map was produced; Fr. Kossmat and K. Pietzsch worked on a new map with the scale 1 : 400 000 (1930). Of direct importance for agriculture are the different types of soil which differ by the composition of the earth and by the rays of the sun; F. Haertel has examined and described them; a survey map was attached with explanations, also with the scale 1 : 400 000 (1930)⁷⁶.

Two maps deal with village areas; they belong to the series of scientific projects of the Saxonian Committee for History: the Historic-Statistical Base Map for Saxony 1 : 100 000 and the Survey Map of the Village Areas 1 : 200 000⁷⁷. Both maps do not give the contents of the terrain but only their circumference. They are precinct maps which are intended to be an aide for the research done in history and statistics. They show the water network, the village signs, and what we have not found on other maps, the boundaries of the village areas in Saxony with little reddish lines; these are the taxation districts, not the boundaries of the local community, as they were valid during the time of preparation of the map. To aid in the production of the base map a copy of the map of the financial survey map produced in 1830/43 was kept at the Central Office for Tax Surveying; in 1870 the boundaries of the fields were carefully entered. But soon it was found that this

76) F. Haertel, Survey Map on the Main Soil Types in the Free State of Saxony (1931)

77) Hub. Ermisch, Explanations to the historic-statistic base map for Germany; scale 1 : 100 000 (Kingdom of Saxony) (1899).

map was not exact enough and during the entering of the boundaries into the map of the German Reich mistakes would be made. Therefore, the cumbersome method had to be used to enter the boundaries directly on the basis of the entries made in the field sketches. The work was directed by the surveying engineer Ehnert of Dresden (published in 30 sections since 1899). These maps form the basis for the map of the village areas 1 : 200 000 with a simple reduction. A new edition of the base map was prepared with the newly changed community boundaries; it was edited by E. Hildebrand at Dresden; the village area map was published already in 1927 (second edition). Besides the various sketches these maps have a value of presentation and as source material for the listing of all data on the distribution of property which is connected with the colonization and the settlements.

Several changes made themselves felt in the years after 1933 and after 1945. The administration was reorganized on the top level of the government of the country and also on the intermediary level: the district prefectures were replaced by government districts which according to Prussian model were subdivided into rural districts (under sub-prefects) and municipal districts. A new community order was decreed in 1935: according to this and like in 1922 the estate districts are incorporated into the community districts, so that the community boundaries and the village areas are the same now. Smaller communities were united with the neighboring communities. The preserving force of the soil, the conditions directly rooting in it, and the institutions based on it, have had the effect that the new order left the field books and maps in their basic organization. All book-keeping concerning the land and the keeping of the documents relating to it, remained incumbent upon the authorities under the Central Saxonian administration. For this purpose we have now the offices of the surveying and cadastre administration which are under the Central Saxonian administration for the time being; They are under the Department of the Interior: the general cada-

stre and surveying office at Dresden, besides which we still find the administration for the still existing land of the crown, as well as the cadastre offices in the various districts of the country which are similar to the former district internal revenue offices, but which have^a/slightly different competence. They take care of the field books and maps and of the property registers with all the work connected with them. In later times new maps have been started; they have come nearer to the purposes of the field maps. They are topographic maps with the large scale 1 : 5 000 where parcels, of the present period, are entered with thin linear drawings. In Saxony such projects have been taken up by the Surveyor's Office at Dresden. Several sheets were produced and printed. Later on, the Reich Office for Topography, Department for Saxony, started a similar map project with somewhat deviating sections. In spite of an excellent measuring basis and equipment these sheets are no equivalent substitute for the field sketches of 1835/43 and even not for the new field maps (since 1870), because the property conditions are not shown on them. This has brought the development of the field maps in Saxony to a close for the time being⁷⁸.

78) The effects of the reforms of 1952 which the author has not seen, are not taken into account. The Publisher.

Chapter II.

Introduction into the Historic Appreciation of the Village and Field Areas Patterns

1. The Epochs of Colonization.

The historic understanding of the terrain as we presently see it necessitates the knowledge of the various epochs which have followed each other in the history of colonization and the fact that they have formed and shaped it. Let us describe the main characteristics of this development without anticipating a complete presentation of the history of colonization of the Saxonian territory.

We are unable to penetrate into distant prehistoric times by studying the field maps¹; by these means we cannot trace developments back to the times when the oldest peasant peoples lived in Central Germany, to the younger Stone Age nor to the Bronze Age. But we can establish one fact which is of importance for the colonization: the distribution of settlements can be adequately established even for those times. The observation of the type of soil and of the climate, of plant and animal life (relict flora and fauna) let us recognize the settlements, and the findings in the soil help us in this. The same phenomenon can be observed here as in other parts of Germany: we always find the same areas which belong to the land on which settlements were in existence, although the boundaries are changing: Open spaces amidst of wild forest, old land in the sense of the history of colonization. One of these tracts of land runs towards the West from the knee of the Elster and the Pleisse towards the Saale. The greater one accompanies the Elbe from the mouth of the Triebisch to the area beyond the Dahle; on the left bank of the river it extends towards the depression, towards the South to parts

which are situated beyond a border forest tract advancing along
 1) Layout of Prehistoric Saxony, publ. W. Frenzel, W. Radig, O. Reche (1934): R. Grahmann, Saxony as a Settlement Area of Prehistoric Man; Joh. Leipoldt, Soil and Original Terrain of Saxony. Comp. K. Tackenberg, Contributions to the Terrain and Colonization in Prehistoric Saxony. (Land and Civilization, Festival Publ. for R. Koetzschke, 1937, p. 15 and the following pages.)

the river plain down to the gate of the break-through of the Elbe through the sandstone mountains; a third is situated in the Spree region. We must not think of these areas of prehistoric times as being steppes and vast grassy plains; they are more like a natural park landscape interspersed by trees, particularly along the slopes of the depressions and in the valleys. The forests surrounding them were formed by deciduous trees in the plainland: oaks, beeches, linden trees, elms and others; frequently there was a mixed forest with oaks; in the humid depressions we find the meadow forest with bushes; on the dryer soil there is light heath wood with pine trees and birches. In the mountainous areas there was high forest with dense vegetation, coniferous trees, firs and common spruces. The type of colonization is still little known to us. We know something about the type of houses and their different shapes, about the living-ditches and huts, about houses on^a rectangular base, with hearth and household utensils, occasionally with side rooms which were used for special purposes. The shape of the place can be recognized seldom. The question of the individual yard, the hamlet or the village cannot be adequately answered for our regions on the basis of the research made in connection with the findings in the soil. The field was cultivated and there was pasture land. But nothing is known about the shapes and the borders of the field pieces which were hardly fixed. It must be left open whether an economy with foliage grooves was customary here as it is described for the Nordic countries. Similar conditions reigned also during the predominance of the so-called Lusatian civilization from the East to the Saale; their representatives are considered as belonging to the civilizatoric and genetic group of the Northern Illyrians who lived between the Kelts in the Southwest and the Teutons in the North. The later periods of this population is characterized by large castle walls which served as refuge.

In battle they were weaker than the advancing Northerners; they avoided them. Although a clear decline of civilization can be noticed, remnants of the population may have remained who handed down a few names of the Illyric language family (?Neisse, Daleminzien).

A new period of colonization began when the Teutons took the country over during the transition to the later iron age². They occupied the regions of the old open land, the wild fields, as it has been said with a happy expression. In the Western tracts there were the Elbe Teutons who penetrated towards the depression and upstream the Elbe in the 6th to 7th centuries B.C. till they reached the mountainous forests. Settling groups of East Teutonic origin reached the Spree region. The type and density of the colonization is revealed by the findings only to a very small extent. Vast burying places, urn fields (prosit near Lommatzsch) let us conclude to a living together in small districts (Gauen). There have probably been some villages. It is also probable that there were single yards and hamlets. Findings have shown that there have been houses with posts above^a rectangular base, but also with side-rooms. The type of cultivation, wild or regulated field grass economy, permanent field besides pasture land, block shaped fields or long strips, perhaps already a kind of quadrangular formation, work by the individual alone or or common work when new arable land had to be gained, all this cannot be clearly ascertained from the testimony in our regions. The use of the iron plough was not unknown. Information given by Strabon, the Greek geographer (VII, 1,3) on the Hermundures who have been living up to the parts North of the Erzgebirge around the turn of the time, tells us that the settlement was not yet firmly rooted in the soil inspite of the high level of civilization which must be ascribed to this powerful people. After the decline of their political power they kept to this settlement area for generations. Then new population movements set in with the Teutons passing through, leaving, settling

2) K. Tackenberg, The Teutons in Saxony, Prehistoric Saxony I, 1937, p.88 and following p.

down for a while etc. The Langobards took part in this, in the East the Burgundians. Towards the end of the period of migration the tracts East of the Saale belonged to the great Reich of the Thuringians up to the Elbe; their kings governed in the Southern part of the foreland of the Hartz mountains; in the early part of the 6th century under king Irminfried the governing seat was probably at Weimar. East of the Saale there was the land of the Warns, one of the main tribes of the Thuringians (later called Werinofield); a similar settlement group near Muehlberg-Riesa must have belonged to their realm. It is noteworthy that the burying customs (graves in rows) which was prevalent among other Teutonic tribes at that time (Franconians, Alemans) was also found here in the East (grave field of Eulau-Elstertrebnitz). The type of village and field shapes in our country is unfortunately not ascertainable^{with certainty}, even not through comparing observation of the colonization and agriculture of the Teutonic-German tribes. The overthrow of the Thuringian royalty in the battle with the tremendously expanding Franconians (fight for Furgscheidungen in 531) was followed by the dissolution of their realm: Thuringia was incorporated into the Great-Franconian realm; the foreland of the Hartz came to^{the} Saxons. East of the Saale towards the depression and the Elbe a march of the Franconians was established (limes Francorum); but it was far away from the main regions of Merovingian-Franconian power and the defense was therefore very weak; this borderland was open at the border, at the edge of occidental civilization, where the Eastern peoples advanced from the East.

The collapse of the Thuringian Reich which had been on guard in the East, resulted in the strongest cut into the history of colonization of the region between Saale and Neisse³. The Avars,

3) R. Koetzschke, The German Marches in the Sorbic Land (Seeliger-Festival Publ., 1920, p. 87 and the following pages). The same: The racial pattern of the Teuton Region during the time of King Alfred of England (Reche-Festival Publ., 1939, p. 343 and the following p.). W. Schlesinger, The Formation of the State Government (1941, p. 16 and the following pages). - H. Helbig, Migration and Cultural Changes in the Borderland of Upper Lusatia in Prehistoric and early German times (Land and Civilization, 1937, p. 38 and the following pages.)

a people of horsemen from Southeastern Europe, appeared at the middle part of the Elbe; they did not intend to settle here. But under their devastating campaigns the country was deserted. A basic change of population took place. The Teutonic population left; in the 7th century the findings say very little about the Teutons; In the 8th century it is no longer recognizable, that they were Teutons before. However, the country which their ancestors had held for a millenium, was not abandoned by them completely. Forests which they had formed were left behind. This is shown by the river names of Germanic origin; they are more numerous than the Illyric names; partly they were changed the Slavoanian way: Elbe, Elster, Mulde (Milda), Floeha, probably also Zschopau (Scape), Roeder, Spree, then the name of the forest mountains towards the Eger valley (Fergunna 805). Slavs infiltrated from the South or East; their origin was at the Pripet moors. At the beginning of the 7th century they appear in the former march of the Franconians; more of them settled in Carolingian times: their name is: the Sorbs (Latin Sorabi, ags. Surpe; the land name was ^{Sr(i)bia} later on in Bohemia;). They consisted of several very small tribes which fight each other in robbery feuds. Their names are given in the Franconian annals and in the recordings made by the so-called Bavarian geographer (in the 9th century). They settled in open spaces which were gradually populated. Here the division into three parts takes place of which mention was made above. In the Northwest between Saale and Mulde (depression) there were the Sorbs proper. The Siuslers around Wurzen and Eilenburg were related with them. The strongest tribe were the Daleminziers (ags. Dalamensan, Latin Dalaminci and similar words); they came to both banks of the Elbe towards the West and East; in the South they extended to the mountain forest. The ditch-like Elb landscape followed beginning at the break through the rock mountains. A third considerable region was populated by the Milzes around

the Spree (Latin Milcieni; the country: Milca), in the West towards the Black Elster, in the East towards the Neisse; in the North they were separated from the inhabitants of Lusatia (Lusici) by wide forest deserts; in the South they lived up to the wooded borderland of the Zagost towards Bohemia. Then there were smaller strips of colonized soil along the rivers. Some of them may have been won only when they were cultivated. In the areas of the very small tribes there was always a number of fortified places (grad.grodište) with pieces of land belonging to them, as well as small groups which were subdivisions of the tribe (civitates). The level of civilization was much lower among the Slavs than among the Teutonic population. A certain looseness of the colonizing activities became apparent by the fact that when the Daleminziers left the country in order to save themselves from starvation. The type of colonization is revealed by findings only to a very small extent: Ditches were used for living, but also huts above rectangular bases with posts and framework. The land was tilled; the desertion of the fields was a means to make war. The findings do not tell us anything about the location, division and use made of the fields. The most used equipment for the tilling of the land was the simple wooden hook plough. Put iron ploughs were also found; it was characteristic that they were always found near the castle walls of the already German period. There was also cattle; fishing, hunting and forest bees were other sources of food. On the basis of direct evidence the picture of Slav colonization remains unclear, but there are other scientific means of observation. The linguistic explanation of different words gives us hints, particularly the names. The distribution of the names of places coming from Slavonian roots in the already described regions permits us to estimate the approximate area of colonization, although not all names which we meet later on, can be traced back to the olden Slavonic times. The names of the brooks match with this picture of distribution. When they go far into the forest of the mountains, they do not point to the settlement there, but indicate only the use made of them and their importance for the traffic. When we deal with field names we have to be careful. It is not easy to ascribe some of them to the old-Slavonian time of colonization in our

country. All this opens the possibility to obtain information about the type of colonization and their layout of the fields by studying the field maps. At least in regard to the main characteristics of the typical shapes we have to go back to those times, when we study the distribution in the old country; the question, whether such type of colonization is typical Slav or Slav-Baltic or generally Indo-Germanic, cannot be answered as such.

A basic change in the development of colonization which affected the future began with the German occupation of the land, with the beginning of the re-colonization of the German East⁴. It was a success after the foundation of the German Reich during the first period of prosperity of the German royal power, and its ascent to the medieval emperorship. The change was anticipated as early as in the Carolingian period. A Sorbic march was established in front of Thuringia's Eastern border, and fortified with castles. In the foreland, near the Saale, it was possible to keep the Slavs down. Thuringian and Franconian influences advanced towards the Elster. A Teutonic-Germanic influence is perceptible there as a strong element which was noticed comparatively early: the names of rivers (Weida, Gera, Auma), even several names of places; German colonial civilization may have penetrated there in early times. Further progress was introduced by the expansion of the power of the Saxonian duke Otto across the Unstrut line to Northern Thuringia, with the ascent of Merseburg which always looked towards the East. The decisive deed was done by King Henry I. who took up a determined and strong German policy of the East. In his young days he had fought against the Daleminziers with success. For the time being he had to recede before the invading Hungarians which the Daleminziers had called to help them. But after the training of his men and of the army for the fight of heavily armed cavalry and for more perfected castle build-

4) R. Koetzschke at another place; the same, The Beginnings of the Margraviate of Meissen (Research on Meissen/Saxony, 1929; p.26 and the following pages); - W. Schlesinger, The Rise of the Sovereignty in Saxony (1941), p.210 and the following pages. - Sketch of Prehistoric Saxony (p.187 and the f.p.): W. Radig, Living quarters, Settlement and Castle. - The same, The Castle Mountain of Meissen and the Slav district of the Daleminziers (1929); The Sorbic Castles of Western Saxony and East Thuringia (Mannus Library, vol.68, 1940).

ding he started the attack. After capturing Brandenburg in the Havelland he turned South, beat the Daleminziers, stormed their shire-castle on Jahna and established the German fort of Meissen on a projecting wooded rock mountain above the Elbe between Triebisch and the valley of the brook Misen, to dominate the entire region (929). The Milizes were also kept down from here. The victory over the Hungarians in 933 in the battle near the Ried (Riade) in which all German tribes took part, crowned and secured the success. Otto the Great, Henry's son, finished what had been started with good fortune. Between the Saale and the Neisse an organization of marches was created which formed a protecting belt of the Reich and assured a firmer order in the country. The secular order was followed by an ecclesiastical order: Otto who was made emperor, founded the Archbishopric of Magdeburg in 968 and the three bishoprics of Merseburg, Zeitz and Meissen the equipment of which was assigned to the three margraves. The area of these marches, among which Meissen and the foreland of Merseburg had been in one hand already in 974, was never lost again for German sovereignty. The great Slav revolt in the East in 983 did not take place in these parts. The attack from Bohemia was warded off; the tribe of the Milizes on Spree was made dependent. This must be credited to the mighty margrave Ekkehard who came from a family of the Thuringian-Saxonian border nobility (family seat at the mouth of the Unstrut). Put after his end (1002) long fights broke out with the Poles, when their Duke Boleslaw planned to expand his power to the Elbe and the Elster, and even to the Saale. Meissen, under the able margrave Hermann, Ekkehard's son, was saved in 1015 from their attack like a miracle. Heavy fighting was going on around Bautzen, and was lost for a certain time. However, under Emperor Conrad II. the country around Bautzen was again acquired for the Reich (1031) and permanently incorporated into it; it was an advanced area directly at the border of the Reich, whereas the march of Meissen which was named in this way for the first time in 1046 (marchia Misnensis) was still near the border but not situated in the extre-

me zonal border.

After the march had been taken over it was at first an occupied country; its constitution was directed toward defense and the fight against foreign enemies. In the documents the pagi are mentioned as central districts of administration; in scientific usage they are called 'Gau' (districts, shires or so). They were similar to the regions of the old Offenland which had been in existence for a long time⁵. Chutizi around Leipzig, Plism around Altenburg, Land Wurzen, the big Daleminzian district, Nisani in the Elbe valley up to Pirna, in the East the country around Bautzen. There are also smaller districts: Rochlitz, Zwickau, at the upper Elster the district of Dobna with a castle near Plauen. All the mentioned places were genuine castle settlements. Commanders of the castles must have been in charge. Whether there had been certain castle districts in Ottonian times, is not certain. The lowest administrative level were the castle wards with a castle village and the surrounding rural district each. The castle village was equipped with an adjacent farm which was occupied by a German soldier. The authorities liked to put a church into the village; then the castle ward was also a pastorate. The appeasement of the country provided an opportunity for generous colonization. It developed only in an irregular manner. In the Western parts it developed stronger since Ottonian times. This is revealed by German names of places (Altenburg, Langenberg; Gundorf near Leipzig), but also in the rural seats of German warriors, the earth towers or hills. The transfer of bondsmen from Saxonian royal courts is revealed by gift of Emperor Henry II⁶. It is uncertain, whether we can think of Germans, when we read about the free people who are mentioned near Zwenkau (974)⁷. Towards the East the German character advanced only slowly. For the protection of Meissen German gentlemen and men did their row service in times

5) W. Radig, Saxony's Districts as Castle Wall Landscape (Land and Civilization, 1937, p. 59 and the following pages). W. Schlesinger, Castles and Castle Districts, Observations in the Central German East (same place, p. 77 and the following pages).

6) Dipl. Henry II, July 28, 1010; Doc. Book of High Convent of Merseburg I. no. 38. 7) Doc. Book of High Convent of Merseburg I no. 11.

of war. Soldiers with light arms, (wethenici), were billeted at the Lower Castle of Meissen. In the smaller rural districts the 'supanies', Slavs worked for the German administration. There were only few German borderland peasants. But he did not lack completely in the Meissen area either. The clearance of the castle ward of Boritz from forest (North of Hirschstein) was planned on both banks of the Elbe (983). Also German peasants may have participated in this work.⁸ In general, the district of Daleminzien was considered as well colonized around 1 000. The Slavs adored the fish-pond near Lommatzsch which did so many wonders, with superstition; it proclaimed peace through wheat, oats and acorns, and war by ash⁹. In the following years colonization was on a smaller scale. During the Polish wars the country became devastated; the inhabitants who were natives, died or were deported. Only after peace was reestablished at the Eastern border more favorable conditions were created for colonization.

The new revival took place with the ascent of the German kings coming from the Franconian house of the Salians who experienced the climax of their power under the Emperors Conrad II. and Henry III. up to the beginnings of Henry IV. They were eager to do something for the benefit of the regions East of the Saale. Here they found support for their power. Among the royal courts with considerable income Altenburg, Leisnig and Bautzen are mentioned¹⁰. Royal domains were also found in other parts, such as Oschatz, Dresden, at times also at Goerlitz. In the march of Meissen and its adjacent land the margraves from the Thuringian family of Weimar-Orlamuende were reigning, then those from Brunswick and since 1089 Henry of Eilenburg of the Wettinian tribe. The constitution was complemented in the German sense. The march was no longer a foreland which without firm borders was directed toward other countries; it was completed and closed and had a fixed and firm interior order similar to the model of the motherland. There was an office of the

8) Doc. Otto II. 979/983; Mon. Germ. Dipl. Otto II., no. 184, see also Codl. dipl. Sax. I 33. 9) Thietmar, Cronicon I 3, V 36. 10) A. Schulte, The List of Royal Tableware and Services of 1064/65 (N. Arch. f. Old. Hist. XLI, 1919). - Br. Heusinger, Servitium regis in the Germ. Emp. Time (Arch. f. Doc. Resch. VIII, p. 26 and the f. 1923). J. Haller's deviating time determination, N. Arch. XLV, cannot be followed due to the royal courts in the East). - O. Dobenecker, Regesta... historiae Thuringiae I. no. 853.

of the burgrave which was of importance for defense and jurisdiction. The older castle ward constitution decayed. In the Western parts the colonization by peasants made progress, under the leadership of the lords of the manor, probably still with a majority of native population; this applies to the region extending from Saalfeld to the Orla district, also East of Weissenfels; hides of peasants for which rent had to be paid, are mentioned. In the region of Meissen in the East the number of seats of defense with soldiers besides their farms increased; as subjects of the margraves they had to serve; they also rendered great services otherwise. The increasing distribution of fortified tower hills and water castles is in accordance with the times. Increasing peasant settlements show the presence of 'new villages' (Naundorf, Nausslitz) and also of other smaller villages which were built in forest which had not been cleared yet.¹¹

A symptom is also the distribution of royal hides from the Saale to Goerlitz. The royal hide gifts were certainly made usable also for purposes of colonization as it was the case in the Bavarian borderland in the East. More light was shed on King Henry's IV. colonial activities in the forest of the Hartz region¹². In some documents a German colonization taking place in early times, comes to the fore. It is interesting to know that also the examination of findings in the soil has found evidence for this, for the Western tracts¹³. Near Pegau clayware was opened up which is ascribed to the 10th century showing a style which was customary in Bavaria. Near Grimma (Klein-Bardau) a kiln of a potter with fragments of receptacles of the 11th (till the beginning of the 12th) century were found; besides other objects which were found in the neighborhood, they can be compared with Suabian ceramics. An influence of upper-German civilization, probably due to the infiltration of settlers, shows nothing conspicuous in regard to the relations

of German kings and noblemen with the Dukedom of Bavaria and Suabia. 11) Doc. B. Naumburg I no. 110 (acc. Ap. 4, 1109); place names such as Nausslitz (nuendorf) near Dresden a.o. are conclusive. Cod. dipl. Sax. I 2 (main part I, vol. 2) 175 (1144). 12) Er. Molitor, and the colonial law in the Saxonian Area. (1941), part. p. 107 and the f. 13) Joh. Kretschmar, Early German Clayware of the 10th to 12th centuries in Northwestern Saxony (Prehist. Sax. V. 1941, p. 98 and the following pages.)

It will be the problem of the research on the field maps to trace the shapes of villages and fields which were customary during this early German colonization.

The Meissen region was strongly affected by the restless period after the breaking out of the Saxonian revolt against King Henry IV. and during the troubles of the conflict of the investiture which staggered Reich and church. But also new forces were deployed for reconstruction, for works of peace. At the exit of this period there is the figure of Wiprecht von Groitzsch and his work of colonization which gave the direction for the future¹⁴. Wiprecht had come into the country from a family of Lower Saxony, in the Altmark; from his castle in the Elster region he settled down in the new place. Tested in many battles and vigorous in his ways, also with a hard grip, he conquered extensive property from Dornburg on Saale over Leipzig to the Elbe Land till Bautzen. The problem was to increase the productivity of this region through the cultivation of the soil, and to make it fertile. Wiprecht was a pioneer for the country, as he established settlements. One of the first was the foundation of a convent settlement, the Benedictine Abbey of Pegau on Elster near Groitzsch. Monks of the monastery of Corvey ^{on Weser} were called to equip and organize it. There is a vivid description how the not yet arable forest ground was changed into fertile land through hard work. Abbot Windolf established an abbey village (near Frohburg) and gave advice how the colonial activities could be continued. At Lausick a provostery building was established for a small number of monks. But in the environment, in the forests West of the depression, Wiprecht established the first greater peasant settlements on forest soil which was cleared from wood. Several things are noteworthy in this respect: The calling of settlers from the Franconian Forest, the use of family ties among the families of the nobility for the purpose of colonization - the settlers came from a region, where Wiprecht's mother, Sigena, had property - the settling of the settlers according to family groups and the formulation of names

¹⁴) Annales Pegavienses, Mon. Germ. SS. XVI 247. Lower Franconia is usually assumed to be the country of origin of the settlers

the maintaining of local worship of saints and the preservation of local customs. Here a cell of extending prosperous new settlements was formed in which the epoch of the great German colonization of the East was anticipated.

A new era in the history of the German East opened up with the election of King Lothar of Saxony. During the reign of the royal and imperial family of the Hohenstaufen it ascended to its height. A vigorous Eastern policy, successful on account of the acquisition of vast areas was started with a considerable expansion of the populated German country and soil. A change of political conceptions and ideas on the constitution which had been prepared in the mean time, made itself felt. Previously the public order was based on a system of personal ties of different nature, on favoritism and obligations to serve, on favor and loyalty, fief and performance; now the power of government was intended over the country and the people, over an areal unit and the people living in it; the power over the subjects in the dominated country, where all forces were put to work for the purposes of the state and where their work was continuously intensified. Such domination was urged by the crown, not to the same extent in all parts of the Reich. The governing circles were mainly the princes who rose to assume full power over the state; on the intermediary level there were the lords of the manor and the officials of the courts, the holders of secular and ecclesiastical domains, with more or less extensive authority and with prerogatives. There was a rigidly organized administration; other factors were the construction of castles of the nobility, and manors, soldiers ready for action, increasing economic productivity, the foundation of new towns. The development was supported by the acquisition

because the monastery of Schwarzbach is situated in an area from where the first settlers were coming to Pegau; also the worship of the Holy Kilian points to this. See H. Helbig, Research on the Church Saints in Saxony (1940), p. 341 and the f.p. Lengenfeld Castle (Upper Palatinate) is correctly interpreted as the later residence of Wiprecht's mother Sigena; recently also W. Emmerich, District of the Eastern Bavarian March (1940) p. 286. But this is not conclusive for the homeland of the settlers there which were called. For reasons of dialect E. Schwarz holds that their origin is Eastern Franconia: Bavarian and East-Franconian settlers in the Colonization of the East in the Middle Age; News Ac. Resch. and Fostering of German characteristics, year 1935, p. 144 and the f.p. - W. Heinrich, Wiprecht von Groitzsch and his Settlements (Central German Homeland, no. 8, 1932).

of new land in the interior, the settling down on land which was made arable, in the forests and on the moors, on the basis of a new liberal law for the settlers. At the same time personal bonds were loosened and dissolved, and a new social order came into being with a division into estates : knightly nobility, bourgeoisie and peasants group with a special position and performance among the nation. This change of mind became prevalent in the motherland to a great extent; but it spread more unimpeded and over vaster regions in the German East; here it moved together with the greatest movement of colonization of the German history.

In the march of Meissen and surroundings a similar development could be observed in regard to society as it was characteristic for this transitional region and forefield of the East: power of the Reich, state government and local government took part in it. The movement of colonization which had the nature of an interior colonization here, only in the Southern mountains along one boundary, advanced in West-Eastern direction in the same way as it had been observed with the first beginnings of Germanhood which became indigenous here. In the Western tracts it had developed already in the beginnings of the Stauffer period; in the March of Meissen it started soon after the middle of the 12th century at various places all of a sudden; after two generations, around 1220/30 it had passed its climax. Shortly before this it was seen in Lusatia, as the district was called later on. In 1225 the pastorate of Kamenz was equipped with a group of new villages. With the beginning of the last third of this century it was already limited. Let us follow this development in regard to the leading personalities who were of decisive influence in the colonization¹⁵.

15) Compare the writings of E.O.Schulze and R.Koetzschke and the below mentioned works. Re the formation of territories see Er. Riehme, Margrave, Burgrave and High Convent of Meissen (1906/7). W.Schlesinger, Formation of State Sovereignty, p.254 and the f.p. Leading Families in Colonization. see H.Helbig, The Wettinian State of the Estates and the Constitution of the Estates (1949, still unprinted). - Some doc.evidence see R.Koetzschke, Sources for the History of the Eastern Colonization (1931 2).

In the former March Zeitz the coherence of the territory started to dissolve at an early time. From the West the land-graves of Thuringia came in; the bishops of Naumburg acquired territorial possessions. In the South the district of Dobna came to the Count of Eberstein (on Weser); West of this there was the property of the free noble gentlemen of Lobdeburg to whom the domain of Elsterberg belonged. The part which the bishops of Naumburg played in the introduction of German colonization can be clearly seen; among them was Bishop Udo (deceased in 1140) who founded the Dutch colony at Flemmingen near Schulpforta, and Wichmann, the later Archbishop of Magdeburg, who were colonizers of rank. At the foundation of the church at Plauen in 1122 and at the demarcation of the pastoral district the traces of German characteristics are still weak. There were German warriors in the country, but only few German peasants. At the pastorate of Reichenbach in Vogtland (in the domain of Mylau) the German character of the settlement is clearly proven by the German village names, among others Waldkirchen¹⁶. Since the early period of the Stauffers the Reich acquired new reputation in political and legal respects at the Elster and along the Western depression; the activities of the settlers were also under German influence¹⁷. The first steps were done by the kings Lothar and Conrad III.; they established convents; Lothar founded the abbey of Chemnitz (as a sign of fraternization with Pegau); Conrad confirmed it in 1143. Land was given to it, where German peasants settled; the privilege to establish a market village was also conferred to it. In the royal forest of Pleissen Conrad made a donation of land to the convent of Buergerl in 1143, apparently with the idea, that the land would be cleared from wood; this resulted in the foundation of the monaste-

16) J. Leipoldt, Hist. of Germ. Col. in the Vogtland (1927), p. 155; see now R. Koetzschke, Annual Book of the Soc. f. Vogtl. Hist. 1940 (Vogtl. Mag., no. 1) p. 8, footnote 21. In spite of justified objections by W. Flaoh against the authenticity of the document of ? 1140 for Reichenbach i. V. (Festival Publ. for V. Hopf, Op. 117, it has to be maintained that the first villages which were cleared from forest, existed already. 17) W. Schlesinger, Egerland, Vogtland, Pleissenland (Res. Hist. Sax. & Boh., 1937) p. 82 and f. p. - Same, The Schönburg Region (1934) - Same, Beginnings of Chemnitz and other Central Germ. towns, Study of Royalty and towns in 12th century (1952) p. 33 etc., p. 172 etc. Evidence for land bestowal and colonization see Cod. dipl. Sax. I 2, no. 176 (Doc. B. f. Naumburg I 158); 161 (Rent list II 6, no. 302 etc.) 308 and 510.

ry of Remse near Glauchau. Emperor Frederic I. Barbarossa was sure of his aims and he decided to act vigorously. A Reich jurisdiction was created in the land of the bailiffs (of Weida): Leisnig and Colditz; Lausick was acquired as a Reich domain in 1158 and made part of the district of Pleissen (terra Flisnensis) with Altenburg as capital. The territory was extended to the Egerland; this was of importance for the history of constitutional rights; it helped prepare the colonization for which, according to the royal prerogatives concerning the land and the forests the vast border forest was available. It is true, Frederic did not directly engage in colonizing activities. Only at the foundation of the little monastery near Aue (Zelle) in 1173 his name is mentioned besides that of Margrave Otto and Meinher von Werben (near Weissenfels)¹⁸. Zwickau which was situated within a ring of new villages, was supported by Frederic and his successors. The Reich itself put forces to work in the colonization.

The most extensive work of colonization was done by the margraves of Meissen and their power was strengthened by this. The March of Meissen became the nucleus of the power of the House of Wettin. Its founder was Konrad v. Wettin on Saale who with the help of King Lothar came into the possession of the power in the March in 1123; afterwards he also acquired other territories, the Southern part of the Elbe valley, the region of Bautzen, also Rochlitz and in the Northeast Lower Lusatia (deceased 1157). He was probably active in the work of colonization: during his conflict with the Bishop of Meissen Konrad claims Naundorf on Elbe (near Koetzschenbroda) in 1144¹⁹. The colonizing activities of Margrave Otto^{the Rich} are apparent (1156-1190). He founded the convent of Altzelle and equipped it with 800 hides in the forest of the March (1162), with the approval of Emperor Frederic whose royal prerogatives in regard to the forest can be seen here. Otto began with the establishment of villages at that time: Tuten-dorf, Christiansdorf at the place where the town of Freiberg came into being, to judge according to the silver findings; he

18) Doc. Book for Naumburg I 289
 19) Cod. dipl. Sax. I 2, no. 175 (alterum Nuendorf ultra Albiam.
 In regard to the following see S. Koetzsche, Sources nos. 23-26.

also founded Berthelsdorf. A contract made by the margrave with Bishop Gerung of Meissen concerning the tithe to be paid at Neubrich is very instructive: all over the March a shock of sheaves is to be given for each hide, where previously each village has paid a solidus (12 den.). The establishment of villages on forest ground by the margraves of Meissen for the region East of Leipzig has been ascertained. This had some connection with the foundation of the city of Leipzig (equipment of the St.Nicolai Church with Baalsdorf situated at the Western edge of the area which was cleared from wood). Under Margrave Dietrich (1197-1221) the main activities consist in the foundation of cities (Dresden prior to 1215) and in the expansion of the already existing cities. There may have been an agricultural colonization connected with it (around Grossenhain). There was still a certain prosperity in colonial activities under his successor, Margrave Henry the Noble. Under the sidelines of the House of Wettin the counts of Groitzsch-Rochlitz engaged in colonization. Count Dedo founded the prebendary monastery of Zschillen (Wechselburg) and donated vast hide areas, mostly on forest ground which was not yet cultivated (1168-1174).

- Also in Upper Lusatia the supreme power engaged in colonization; the House of Groitzsch and Margrave Conrad hardly did anything; however, the kings of Bohemia were active in this respect; Since 1158 the country had been given them as a Reich tenure; it was mainly Wenzel, son of Ottokar I., when he governed the country before ascended to the throne of the Bohemian king (1230); at the main places of administration he founded cities amidst of rural settlements, then also in the Zittau region, probably to expand his former town foundation established by King Ottokar II. (1255)²

The secular princes were aided in the encouragement of colonization by the bishops; the latter were gradually becoming sove-

20) W. Jecht, New Studies made on the History of Foundation of the City of Goerlitz and on the Formation of Urban Settlements in Upper Lusatia (Mag. Lower Lus., vol. 95, 1919, p. 1 etc.)

reign. The principle was that a caring shepherd will also look after the physical and secular wellbeing of the children who are entrusted to him. Naumburg's bishops were already mentioned. Bishop Albuin of Merseburg encouraged Wiprecht's colonization by granting the rights to obtain tithe payments. The Merseburg bishops of the interdict forest of Zwenkau acted independently, also Northeast of Leipzig in the neighborhood of Taucha, the foundation of the Archbishop of Magdeburg. The Bishops of Meissen were engaged in the colonization of the region around Wurzen²¹. The settlement with migrants from Flanders at Kuehren in the Wurzen region at an almost uncultivated place (1154) is famous; it was preceded by a contract which has given us information on the conditions for colonization²². We will have to come back to this. Meissen bishops colonized also in the East around Bischofswerda and in Upper Lusatia on Wessnitz (in the district of Eigen). From Naumburg they worked in the territorial property of the bishopric on Elbe around Strehla and beyond the river towards the Schraden forest. Settlement encouraging monasteries of the Cistercian Order founded large farms, as soon as the leadership of the Order permitted this, and encouraged the colonization through peasants (Altzelle, Klosterbuch, later on Gruenhain in 1235 at the Spiegelwald forest²³).

The vastest area was that which was taken by the gentlemen of the nobility which opened up the country for colonization; it is surprising that the region is exactly the same as area which research done on the original landscape has found to be covered by forests prior to the great period of forest clearance.²⁴ The principles which was followed in the policy was like a slogan: Power through colonization; colonization follows the power. The burgraves were at the highest level. They were aristocrats, officials of the Reich who were, however, under the Margraves of Meissen. The burgraves of Altenburg had profitable income from the fertile old land; their office had less importance than before, because several other administrative offices were active there; it appears that they have colonized

only in the immediate surroundings without acquiring a forest clearance domain of their own in some remote parts. Their dispersed property gave the burgraves of Leisnig cause to colonize in different and many ways. From their name giving domains they advanced into the forests, particularly near Penig where a branch of their family enjoyed great prosperity. The most powerful were the burgraves of Meissen from the family of the Meinheringers which changed over to Meissen from Werben in front of Weissenfels. In the Southwestern mountainous forest they completed their sovereignty at Hartenstein; in the Eastern part of the Erzgebirge they acquired Frauenstein, with a ring of new villages each. The burgraves of Dohna acquired a stately area for forest clearing by advancing from their domain between Lockwitz and Cottleuba to the Eastern parts of the Erzgebirge towards Dippelswalde. - There were many holders of property who were in the services of the Reich. They were first put on a Reich domain, in the Elster region and along the depression up to the heights of the mountains, also far towards the East: the gentlemen of Grimmitschau, those of Schoenburg on Glauchau, those of Waldenburg and Wolkenstein, those of Wildenfels, von Colditz, of Schellenberg and others. They got property according the tenure law; they built castles and on the basis of manorial authority they established jurisdiction supported by various prerogatives, a sovereignty which had to be made profitable by means of colonization with peasants and by populating it with men who could serve as soldiers. There was a similar development in Upper Lusatia. However, nothing is known about a colonization by the burgraves of Bautzen. But numerous families of the nobility worked in colonization such

- 21) W.Ebert, The Würzen Region (1930), p.16 etc., 73 etc. - H. Quintin, The Formation of Power and Colonization in the Eastern parts of Central Germany (Bull. of Ac. Sciences, Goettingen, phil.-hist. class, 1949, p.69 etc.)
- 22) Cod. dipl. Sax. I Sec. 2 no. 254. Koetzschke, Sources no. 10 (with field map acc. to Meitzen); comp. no. 11 (12); see also 14 and 16.
- 23) L. Enderlein, Monastery of Gruenhain in the Western parts of the Erzgebirge (1931) p. 116 etc.
- 24) Comp. map for the register of the margraves of Meissen of 1378 with J. Leipoldt's maps for the original landscape and terrain shapes, also A. Hennig's map of the village shapes.

the founders of the domain of Kamenz who had come from Vesta on Saale (South of Keuschberg), the gentlemen of Gunewalde, Cottmarsdorf in Southern Lusatia, and then also descendants of the gentlemen of Schoenburg and of the Donins²⁵. - The knightly nobility which had no sovereignty had service tenures from the margraves or the church; they now increasingly take over the manors which the knights possessed; this is an important fact of the history of colonization; a great achievement of the peasants is connected with it, of course. A good example is given by Adalbert von Taubenheim's settlement who was a faithful follower of the margrave. His Franconians had acquired a residence and usable land at the locality itself (on Triebisch) and in the neighborhood (Sora near Limbach South of Meissen and Wuesthasela). In legal respect they got greater independence from him. Eckardt's villages near Frankenstein, Southwest of the old Zellwald, have to be mentioned here. Numerous knightly lords of the manor were present in the old country, where they encouraged the cultivation of the terrain. But they also took a lead in the establishment of villages (1186)²⁶. In the neighborhood of Thuringia, particularly in the Vogtland, the Order of the German knights founded houses of the Order; but there were hardly any in the March of Meissen; the order distributed land for the settlement of peasants only very seldom.

The colonization was a proven means to increase power, but it had also political significance along the border, where one country met with the territory of another country. The developments in the South had a great impact for the future. In the North German colonization penetrated more and more into the wold forest as a kind of borderland peasantry. But in the South it met a counter-movement which started from the Egerland and Bohemia under the difficult conditions of the steep terrain.

²⁵ Schlesinger, Egerland, Vogtland, Pleistenland (1937) - Same, Chemnitz (1952) - Helbig, Wettinian Medieval State (1949) - K. Bosl, Reich Admin. of the Salians and Staffers, a contribution to the Hist. of the high-medieval Germ. people, state and Reich, II (1951) p. 482 etc. - M. Jaenecke, The Domains in Upper Lusatia (Leipz. Diss. 1922, unprinted.)

The colonization led to a fight for the border areas. The kings of Bohemia (Ottokar I. and II.) pushed forward; North-Bohemian families, frequently of German origin, or with a German blood mixture, advanced towards the North. The rural population which was settled, was of German tribes and closely related to the peasants coming from the North in regard to their dialect and their customs.

Decisive for the growing Germanhood was the origin of those who came to settle in the country and participated in the formation of the new tribe which came into being here. The West-East movement can be clearly seen from the already mentioned advance of the leading knightly families²⁷. Among some of them, particularly in the Western tracts, we can establish Thuringian origin; in some cases they descended from families on the Rhine; The nobility of Meissen was closely connected with Eastern Saxony and its foreland East of the Saale, the homeland of the Wettinians, later on, but certainly prior to the time of colonization. An influx from Upper Germany cannot be established, but it is not improbable during the Stauffer period. The peasant settlers who populated the newland came partly from the motherland Germany, partly did they originate from local families, in the early German colonization or from the descendants of the first generation of settlers who worked on the land which had been cleared from forest or resettled on more attractive grounds. In general it can be said that all German tribes took part in the colonization; but it developed in an irregular manner. Documentary information is conclusive in regard to the influx under two different angles: In the South, particularly in the area of the vast forest, the Franconians were the strongest element in the formation of national characteristics; in

26) Joh. Langer, Local Excursions. Individual examples.

27) Elis. Luerksen, Knightly Families in the March of Meissen. (1916). - W. Schlesinger, About the Gentlemen of Schoenburg, see above footnote 17. - H. Helbig, The Wettinian Medieval State. (1949).

the Vogtland there were the Eastern-Franconians with their Northbavarian influence in the extreme South; further North there were Franconians from the Main region, from the Rhoen and the middle part of the Rhine, already since Wiprecht ~~was~~ called the settlers, further in the Erzgebirge and its foreland, also South of Meissen, and beyond the Elbe. It has been established that Flemings immigrated into the Northern tracts. This influx was connected with the migration from the Netherlands toward the East, and from the migration from the Rhine (Lower Rhine); one generation earlier Dutchmen settled near Naumburg (Flemmingen); in a general way it was connected with the spreading of the Dutch settlement in the Altmark, in the foreland of the Hartz mountains and around Magdeburg. Helmold, pastor of Bosau in Eastern Holstein is right, when he says in his chronicle that the Dutch have settled up to the Bohemian Forest (at the edge of the Erzgebirge). There is no documentary evidence for the presence of rural settlers from Thuringia. But the origin of members of the nobility suggests the conclusion that such influx took place. Starting points for such movements can be traced up to Hesse and its neighboring districts. These questions are elucidated by the research done on Teutonic characteristics and by more recent observations in regard to the dialects and their distribution, to the naming of places and various customs²⁸. It is correct to speak of three ways of infiltration of settlers: from the Northwest there is a stream of migrants of lower German and Dutch origin; in the South there is a broad stream of Franconian settlers; in the middle there is an influx from Thuringia and the Western parts of Central Germany; linguistic phenomena can be interpreted also by the influence of the dominating families on the population which has had different origin. From the main lines of immigration side and cross lines branched off. The science of linguistics speaks of

28) Civilized Areas and Trends in the Central German East (1936) p.174 etc. Th.Frings and K.Gleissner: Language and Nationality, with map of the Strips of Colonization. - Horst Becker, Sax. Dialects (1939).

graduations, centers of power, points or radiation, fields of oscillation and retarding points. In the extreme East, as it says, beyond the block of the Wends, an influence from Silesia as a kind of backward movement is possible. - Results from findings can be added to this: Products of the pottery trade, imported or imitated at a later date, the types and shapes of which point to Lower Saxonian origin, have been ascertained in the Northwest, in the historically known regions of Franconian settlements (near Borna), that is to say such with Franconian characteristics²⁹.

The law which was applied in the areas of colonization, was formulated accordingly³⁰. At the beginning of the German colonization in our country there was no common German law among the settlers, no *ius Teutonicum*. In the basic principles the legal custom must have been the same. However, the direct testimony points to certain characteristics on the main roads of immigration. The title document which was given to the Flemings at Kuehren in 1154 gives us a model of the favorable Dutch settlement law, in accordance with what has been found at other places in the region of the motherland³¹. Personal liberty was granted, a land distribution according to the hide, a property law equal to property or similar to it, the payment of ground-rent with money (2 sol.), payment of the tithe, but no labor service for the lords, exemption from tolls and taxes. The small retail trade on the local level, at least with food, was free. Local jurisdiction is in the hands of the local mayor, but the Dutch at Kuehren were not without bailiff. They were under the bailiff of the bishopric of Meissen who held his annual court (on three days, Dreiding) at the village. A church was built and equipped with a hide; the village precinct was a selected parish. For the Franconian settlement a

29) Joh. Kretzschmar, Coin-dated receptacles from the early Middle Ages in Northwestern Saxony (Prehistoric Saxony III, 1939, p.89 etc.); same, Early German Clayware of the 10th to 12th centuries (same place V 1941, p.98 etc.). 30) Rich. Koetzschke, The Employers in the East German Colonization (1894). - Rich. Koebner, Locatio, Mag. of Soc. f. Hist. Silesia 63, p.12 etc. - Rud. Koetzschke, The Beginnings of German Law in the Colonization of the East (1942).

31) See above, footnote 22.

a general regulation as to which kind of law has to be applied, is not available; only occasionally, details are noted. The settlers receive their peasant tenure. The kind of measurement of the hides can be ascertained. Basically, the jurisdiction is the competency of the lord, but it can be organized on a less rigid basis in favor of the settlers, in favor of the judge.

The regulations in the 'Sachsenspiegel' (Saxonian Code of Law) (III,79) concerning the law in the villages which are occupied by peasants in the very beginning of the village, may also have been applied in these parts, but they were not a binding law of colonization. More can be seen from the consequences; when we describe the agrarian constitution details will be shown.

The striking success of the German colonization was only possible because a general economic uplifting was connected with it. A truly important expansion of cultivation took place, at the same time a perfecting of the methods; the German peasant used the technically superior German plough with wheel support, iron share, plank and strike, as it is shown on the picture writing of the Sachsenspiegel³²; apparently, it is already the original handwriting which came up soon after the great time of colonization. A considerable increase in production of grain was attained; special types of cultivation were encouraged: gardening and fruit cultivation, viticulture, apiculture in gardens and ponds brought additional food. Cattle breeding was improved. The layout of the fields, their division, the type of property distribution and of the cultivation cannot be ascertained from direct documents of that time, but only by the study of the field maps; Here we see the basic shapes which were introduced by the German colonization of the East; occasionally, we can find individual examples which can be traced back to the beginnings of that period. (Kuehren, Baalsdorf, Taubenheim, Berthelsdorf near Freiberg). - Agricultural production developed besides other branches of the economy. In the Meissen region mining

³²) Edition by K.v. Amira (1901), table 25; explanations I 237; see also table 60 etc.

had a special attraction for the newcomers; it prospered not only at the big mining places such as Freiberg and Dippoldiswalde, but also in forges and hammerworks³³. The foundation and the development of villages were stimulated by this, because they served the procurement of food and required raw materials for the quickly increasing mining population which was augmented by the workers who came from the villages. The economic progress which was caused by the German settlers' movement, was not based on the original production alone. The latter was accompanied by trade and traffic, by artisans and merchants. To a modest extent this applied to the new villages (Kuehren, Gersdorf near Leisnig), but it is a basic trait of the colonization that the foundation of towns accompanied the establishment of villages. At the beginning the towns used to follow the colonization in the countryside. However, as time went on it became customary that the town being of importance for the defense and the economy, became a center for the area of new settlement around it. However this may have developed in terms of time, town and country complemented each other in economic and social respects. The bourgeoisie had to rely on the supply with food and raw material from the rural areas, and on the sale of the products of the different trades in the rural districts. It is noteworthy that as soon as the German colonization had spread to a greater extent, the sale of local products from the Meissen region down the Elbe to the North Sea (Hamburg) developed as it can be ascertained for the 13th century³⁴, so that the connection was established with the rising Hanseatic traffic.

In various ways the great work of German colonization is reflected in the names of places which were given to the new localities³⁵. There are villages which kept the traditional Slav names, when they were closely related with the original living

³³) Joh. Langer, Local Excursions, p. 174 etc.

³⁴) Hanseatic Doc. B. I, no. 573 (1262). See also sources on older economic history of Central Germany, publ. by v. H. Helbig III (1953), no. 266.

place; at times the German village was distinguished from the Wend village (Deutschenbora, Deutsch-and Wend Luppa) in such a way that also the former Wend village was changed into a German village. By far the greatest number of place names pointed to a purely German formation. Many have been selected according to the natural conditions of the area: names ending with -feld, and -au, -hain, more seldom with -wald, -brunn and -born, -bach, -berg and similar words; the ending -stein is often found in the case of castles. Some names reflect the tribe rule of the settlers: Franken, Flemmingen, Schwaben, Langenhesen, nearby Friesen, also Beyer- and Sachsenfeld; in the case of composed names of related types names of persons can be deduced from them. Place names of patronymic formation were not used during the time of colonization; this is a symptom for the fact that the kin was not the determining factor for the founding of a village. Most frequent are names which designate the place of settlement itself. They contain the basic word 'dorf', in seldom cases -heim (in a line extending from the region of Lausick to Taubenheim Southeast of Meissen, and sporadically East of the Elbe); the end with -hausen or -staedt only in rare cases. Specially noteworthy are the names which mention the clearance from forest, ending with -gruen and -reuth or-reuth in the Vogtland and beyond; East of Thuringia we meet names which are related to the clearing of forest; they end with -rode, in the mountains some of them end with -hau; the latter are probably of later origin. Besides the place names of typical formation there are other curious names which are of importance in regard to the dialect and can be used also for drawing conclusions in historical respect. The persons who are mentioned in the determining word, often give us the name of the founder:

- 35) A. Meiche, The Origin of German Settlers in Saxony according to place names (German Earth 4, p. 84 etc.); Same, The German Place Names in Saxony East of the Elbe (N. Arch. f. Sax. Hist. vol. 61, p. 137 etc.) - H. Becker, Sax. Dialects, p. 12 etc. with map. - O. Hey, The Slav Settlements in the Kingdom of Sax., with explanation of their names (1893), is obsolete in philological and colonial respects. - A hist. list of places is being prepared by R. Olesch and L. E. Schmitt.

the lord who has property or the contractor who carried out the occupation; in favorable cases it is possible to conclude from information obtained by witnesses in the documents to personalities who played a part in the foundation. A preference for certain names is shown in this; they were selected after kings and margraves; they are also derived from the heroic sagas which are so popular among the knightly society.

Up to the late 13th century the epoch of German colonization prevailed in the March of Meissen and surroundings. A great geographical success had been obtained with this. Besides the old colonization area new space was acquired now; the latter did not only equal the former, but surpassed it in regard to the size (at least threefold). Only after this period a really German country had been won in hard civilisatoric work, and the German people had the right to see in it a genuine homelright.

The colonization also penetrated into the area of old settlements. There were still gaps in the civilization which had to be filled. The Slav population was not intentionally pushed aside but it had less vitality, its numbers decreased, it died out or accepted the higher German civilization which had been introduced in the course of the colonization; gradually it also accepted the German language and German customs. Above all, the higher standard of agricultural techniques which was characteristic for the Germans, was accepted by them; in the course of several generations an adaptation of law developed. Important was the introduction of German hides, in the estimates of usable acre land according to hides or in a certain reorganization of the terrain. But there were also direct influences on the colonization itself. It is clearly seen in the documentary tradition that big manors and yards were divided up among the peasants.³⁶ Estates were transformed into peasant land; the peasants increased in numbers and economic importance. Another development which

³⁶) Cod. Sax. II, 4 no. 3 (Goebern) (of 1233) 10 (Coelln, 1255; same source, II 2 (Jahna 1386). Comp. G. Dame, Development of Rural Economy p. 16 etc. (Oberwartha).

was of importance for the history of colonization, was the merger of settlement places and the fields belonging to them; however, this did not take place too often. In this way small villages which had been in existence from Slav times, were opened up and bigger villages were created after the model which was given in the German colonization. Individual cases of such mergers are shown in the historic source material only in exceptional cases³⁷; but the distribution of the settlement shapes shows clearly that such measures were not uncommon.

In the memorable periods of East German colonization civilization had been encouraged to such an extent that all parts of the Meissen region and its surroundings were included apart from remote border strips in the higher mountains which were protected by interdict forest. Since that time it was no longer possible to 'acquire a new province in peace'. The interior colonization in a smaller area, on more difficult soil, experienced a certain 'post-prosperity'. The expression of a 'post-colonization' was coined and found a fortunate word. The new villages from the climax period of the occupation in the valleys and small side valleys of the mountains or also in the forests and heath areas of the lowlands had not all been developed to the same extent and with the same speed. Here and there the number of settlers might have decreased or other economic pursuits opposed the development; consequently, rest pieces of land remained fallow, and were opened up for cultivation only at a later date; it was right to speak of 'rest settlements'. They distinguish themselves from the first foundations by their shape, because an organization in a regular manner was not possible; the adaptation to the terrain was paramount. It was natural that in the case of second or third selections of places only small village shapes came into being;

37) Naundorf near Leisnig; examples at Borna; comp. also the inform. on places of 1105 (Merseburg Ub.I 89) with the later villages and fields incl. the deserted march of Zoellsdorf; Gossa in the terrain of Breunsdorf; Maschen-dorf in the terrain of Schleenhain; Wuestenhain near Borna and Flickert near Leipzig.

The purely agricultural use of the soil was frequently the main purpose; but more villages were established with a pre-dominating trade economy: Mining places, hammerworks, mills, glassworks, forest villages. These foundations made it possible to create an access to new spaces for colonization. It was possible to fill gaps in the colonization and to make the network of settlements more narrow. Up to the late Middle Ages the development following the colonization proper continues. Most of the settlers were old settlers who were anxious to get new land and who came from the neighboring villages. But also people from villages far away came to establish a new home, from various parts of the Erzgebirge and Southern Upper Lusatia and apparently also from Bohemia.

Meantime a backward movement had set in. Many settlements decayed; places which had been inhabited before, were deserted and were left idle, as deserted places (They are popularly called 'Wuestungen'). We can speak of a negative period of colonization (according to O. Schlueter's expression). - To speak of a decolonization would not be correct; the term would be only partly applicable - from the 13th century to the beginning of modern times, although it would not be justified in these parts to characterize this entire period only according to this factor, because the number of inhabitants did not increase; there were only less villages³⁸.

The reasons for the desertion were of different nature. Devastation through war has played a part. Some villages were burnt down; the inhabitants escaped or perished on account of pilferage, sickness or starvation. But in the long run the settling places were not deserted; as soon as the danger had past, the people were set to rebuild their villages. The region of Meissen and Upper Lusatia were affected by many feuds during

38) H. Beschorner, The deserted places and their study in Germany, part. 3, xony; Mag. for Germ. Hist. 85 (1939), p. 180 etc. - W. Ebert, The Land of Wurzen, p. 63 etc. - Wilh. Abel, The deserted places of the ending Middle Ages. (1940).

the main period of desertion. But they were not affected by long periods of war or war emergencies. The destruction of villages as a result of the invasion of the Hussites must not be overemphasized, although the fear of the Hussites has been in the minds of the people for a long time and to a great extent; often the deserted marches were explained by them.

The downfall of the villages the remembrance of which has been living in the deserted marches for a long time, must be interpreted in another manner in most cases. There can be no doubt that during the climax of the colonization here and there the settlers advanced to soil which could not give enough food, when we consider the techniques of agriculture in use at that time; in view of the heavily increasing land-rent the soil did not always appear to be profitable enough. During the great developments of colonization we often find the phenomenon that the settlers easily give up their first place of settlement in the hope to find a better place. The soil may also have been evaluated in a too favorable manner; in exceptional wet or dry years the settlers noticed the difficulties of cultivation and discovered that the profitability was too little in the long run. In such cases places of cultivation were left. The reason for becoming deserted is mostly a different one. The population at that time suffered very great losses which were not outbalanced in the years when there were no epidemics. A great number of people were affected by sickness and died. The survivors left the place so that the danger of dying out increased at the small settlements. Then there were the consequences of a creeping agrarian crisis which had economic reasons. In the late Middle Ages there was an unfavorable ratio between the prices for agricultural products and the wages, consequently also for the working equipment. Agricultural profitability decreased, particularly where it did not have its basis on the family farm. In the region of the German East it was often

connected with monetary developments, particularly in the Meissen region with its prospering silver mining; when the latter stopped the value of silver was affected, the coins and the payments which had to be made in silver. All this may be more profound causes for the desertion. Then there is another factor to be considered. A very considerable part of the deserted localities must apparently be interpreted by mergers of settlement places, and even the intentional combination of localities and fields. In these cases the settlements did not disappear but they were only displaced to be reorganized in a more economically profitable manner and with better living quarters. The interior colonization had previously often been encouraged by the dividing up of manor land and the distribution among the peasants; now a transformation of peasant land into manors occurred. However, this was not the case, if a diminution of peasant farms had preceded. A big manor or adjacent estate may appear to be the rebuilt deserted place (Meusdorf near Leipzig). The towns had great significance for the formation of deserted settlement places; the development of the towns paralleled that of the rural communities, but to a smaller extent than in the German homeland. The migration from the rural areas to the towns was a usual phenomenon here. On the other hand it cannot be found evidence for the displacement of entire localities to be merged with urban settlements or the suburbs. It occurred, however, that small settlements in front of the gates of the town gave up their legal autonomy since the late Middle Ages, to be incorporated into another community; they no longer formed a special topographical unit and they lost their own name. It was not a process of desertion but a process of growing together to form a greater urban settlement unit.

We have also to mention the frequent cases in which the name of a deserted place or of a deserted field comes up but where the desertion was not preceded by the discontinuance of cultivation; only the name disappeared. These are correctly called 'apparent desertions' which have no significance

for the history of colonization³⁹.

Since the middle of the 15th century, when the regional state of Meissen rose again in times of peace after it had been united with the Electorate of Saxony (1423) and the result of the subsequent warlike entanglements. A new wave of colonization set in. In the interior of the country, particularly in the more remote parts of the mountains, new land was opened up for cultivation, and from distant parts people came here to settle. The progress made in the colonization here can be called 'younger colonization'; it extended from that time up to the 16th century; at the same time it was connected with significant developments in local colonization in many parts of the country. More than ever before the colonization had the nature of an interior colonization, as far as it did not serve the agrarian food production and other basic production lines. New grounds which had not been cultivated so far, were colonized. New villages were established in the Eastern part of the Erzgebirge on the heights overlooking the Weisseritz and the Mueglitz. The gentlemen of Baerenstein and Lauenstein deserve the main credit for this: Examples are Schellerhau and Kipsdorf⁴⁰. Up to the middle of the 16th century we can trace this period of colonization. A great stimulus was given by findings of new ore; this resulted in the establishment of mining places and indirectly also in the increase of the village population at the neighboring places; new villages were founded in the environment. Altenberg at the Geising blossomed up as one of the first of these new villages; since 1440 profitable ore deposits (tin) were mined (conferring of municipal autonomy in 1451)⁴¹. A little later silver mining began at Schneeberg (town was built around 1471) in the Western Erzgebirge; then there was St. Annaberg at the Schreckenberg

39) W. Ebert, The Land of Wurzen, p. 73.

40) E. O. Schmidt, Excursions through the Electorate of Saxony, V. p. 310 etc., 315 etc.

41) O. Trautmann, The Foundation of the Town of Altenberg. N. Arch. for Sax. Hist., 49, p. 185 etc.

in the rough upper part of the Erzgebirge (1496), St.Katharinenberg at the Buchholz, and finally, Marienberg (1521), beyond the border also Joachimsthal. Some of the smaller mountain towns acquired new importance attracting many newcomers (Ehrenfriedersdorf, Geyer, Thum and others). In connection with this the number of forges and hammerworks working the raw material increased: e.g. Oberschlema, Auerhammer and others⁴². The peasants' war of 1525 which, coming from Thuringia, affected the Western tracts, and the revolts which were connected with it but which were soon beaten down in the Erzgebirge among the miners destroyed many buildings; the population suffered great losses and farming manors were devastated, but the colonization was not changed noticeably.

Since the middle of the 16th century the economy of upper and lower Germany experienced a standstill; soon afterwards it declined; inspite of this Saxony enjoyed an upward development under Duke Moritz on 1547 after the Electorate was founded. It was supported by the economic policy conducted by the Elector Gus who wanted to raise the wellbeing of the country⁴³. The increase of economic values in the country resulted in more and larger settlements. We can see this clearly, when we compare the older with the younger terriers which register a noticeable increase of inhabitants in the villages; this is less due to the foundation of new places of settlement but caused more by the emergence of 'small cottages' on manors or community soil. At the outset of his government Gus was frequently anxious, when he bought land, to distribute it to urban and even rural communities (adjacent farm of Tragnitz came to the town of Leisnig, then it was distributed; adjacent farm of Kammershain (-heim) near Nossen; adjacent farm of Gundorf near Leipzig came to the community there). A new place was Neu-Ostra near Dresden. Around 1554 Kleinerckmannsdorf was founded near Stolpen thanks

to the action taken by the knightly lords of the manor⁴⁴.
 42) G. Sommerfeldt, Iron hammer works in Southern Sax. N. Arch. 44, p. 124 etc. - K. Voppel, The Erzgebirg Landscape under the influence of mining. Scient. Publ. of Germ. Mus. f. reg. aff. at Leipzig, NF 9, 1941, p. 39 etc. 43) Joh. Falke, Hist. of Elector Gus in eo. respect. (1869), p. 69 etc., 75 etc., 85 etc. 44) O. Merker, Deserted Rottendorf and the Foundation of Klein-Erckmannsdorf (N. Arch. 47, p. 237 etc.).

The profitability of silver mining receded. A certain substitute was found was offered by the newly developing cobalt mining which gave rise to the foundation of potash-cobalt plants⁴⁵. The home industry spread in the mountains (lace-bobbins, laces at Annaberg); in Western Saxony the cloth trade developed; in Upper Lusatia the production of linen cloth under the influence of foreign and later on of local employers who had capital⁴⁶. At some places the population changed over to the new, although poorer trades, when mining failed. But also foreign settlers coming from the Netherlands and from Suabia were enlisted, when new industries had to be founded⁴⁷. This development continued till the first decade of the 17th century. At that time the country had a population density of appr. 35 to 40 per square kilometer (1 kilometer= 0.622 miles). In comparison with other parts of Germany this was an unusual density.⁴⁸

A significant milestone in the history of colonization of Saxony was the emergency period of the 30 Years' War which lasted for a century or so. Saxony was affected later than other parts; the same applies to Upper Lusatia which was taken over by Elector John George I. as a pawn. First since 1631 (battle of Breitenfeld) the country became really a place of war; it remained so till the end of the general fighting, although already in 1635 the Peace of Prague had been concluded between Saxony and the head of the Reich Emperor Frederic III. The condition was that the Lusatians would have to be left to the Kurhaus as an inheritance. For another full decade imperial and Swedish troops brought heavy distress over the greatly devastated land of Saxony. Many villages were burnt down; the inhabitants rescued themselves into hide-outs or under protecting walls; the number of inhabitants decreased to a horrifying extent. In view of the uncertainty the cultivation of the field did not appear profitable; the exorbitant tax burden and several economic difficulties were other reasons. Those miserable

years saw a considerable decrease in colonization. Some villages

45) W. Bruchmueller, Cobalt Mining (1897).

46) G. Aubin, From the Early Times of German Capitalism (Mag. f. the entire commercial law, 84) - A. Kunze, The upper-German Commercial Capital and the Sax. Linen Cloth in the 16th century. (Meissen-Sax. Res. 1929) p. 100 etc. - G. Aubin and A. Kunze, Linen cloth prod. and selling in Eastern Central Germany during the guild purchases.

had died out; the yards were completely destroyed. the gardens were beaten down, the tilled land grew wild. But the widely spread conception that the deserted places must be ascribed to the 30 Years' War and particularly to the fighting of the Swedes cannot stand the test of scientific examination. The villages which were destroyed at that time did not remain destroyed in the long run, so that the foundation of the deserted places which are known to us, and of the deserted fields, must be ascribed to a much earlier period already characterized above⁴⁹.

After peace was reestablished in 1648 there were many places in the villages which were burnt down, there were deserted hides and fallow field pieces in great numbers. Often it was said that entire localities were just ash and ruins. The necessity of rebuilding was recognized. Agriculture was considered as a treasure of the country and of the economy and was praised as such⁵⁰. A large-scale plan for the re-cultivation of the deserted fields and estates was not put up. For a long time the fenced places within the village area as well as unused strips in the fields were left as they were. They were used for quests that the tax burden be lessened; often the holders of estates advocated an easing of the tax burden for their peasants. Gradually the work of reconstruction makes headway. There are a few examples in which villages were rebuilt entirely⁵¹: Ragewitz near Grimma, Neutaubenheim near Rochlitz, very late (1737), Nixendorf near Grimmitschau for the building of which we have very illustrative evidence. There were also some new foundations: for instance Bocksdorf near Leisnig, Fichtigsthal South of Mittweida and others. The postwar period brought con-

47) S. Sieber, Suggestions for an Economic Hist. of the Erzgebirge (N. Arch. f. Sax. Hist., 61, p. 216 etc.)

48) About the Number of Inhabitants see R. Wuttke, Sax. Aff., p. 181 etc. The density of population is obtained, when the number of people (around 1612 there were appr. 932 000 people) is calculated per square kilometer (there were 26 620 square km, not counting the bishoprics).

49) Replies to questionnaires of the Sax. Comm. for Hist. sent to local communities (Hist. geogr. work, 1907, p. 40 etc.).

siderable additions to the population by newcomers. Many Evangelicals emigrated from Bohemia, particularly from the German-colonized areas of Northern Bohemia; they settled in the neighboring districts of Saxony⁵². These exiles settled down in both the towns and rural areas. A mark of this movement is the foundation of Johannegeorgenstadt in 1658⁵³. Newcomers settled also in the forests of the border district; big villages were not established as it was the case in medieval colonization; but numerous small settlement places were established from where the settlers could engage in forestry, forest economy and small trades, for instance in the area of the domain of Sayda-Purschenstein (at Heidelberg, Seiffen and neighboring places)⁵⁴, also in the Vogtland (Klingenthal and environment), in Southern Upper Lusatia. About one generation after the loss in population the latter were outbalanced again, and a new increase in population could even be noticed. A permanent loss in the number of localities from the war time did not exist.

In the period of Gus the Strong, his predecessors and successors, Saxony was under the influence of 'mercantilist' policies of population and economy, although they were not so decisive and consequent here as they were in other states of Europe. A mercantilism which was concentrated on agriculture as we find it in Brandenburg-Prussia or in Austria, did not come to the fore in Saxony. A planned interior colonization on a larger scale and the measures which were taken again in the East, were not known in Saxony. The reason was not that the Saxons would not have showed an understanding of them; there was not need for a further or new expansion of rural settlements here in the stage of development of cultivation. Saxony paid more attention to the development of the trades, particularly to the introduction of new lines of production. The mea-

50) Bernh. K. Kreyssig, Financial and economic policy after the 30 Years War (see above, p. 32, footnote 19) p. 34. 51) H. Beschorner, About the Reconstruction of most of the Villages which were destroyed in the 30 Years War. Studium Lipsiense (1909) p. 73 etc. 52) Gg. Loesche, The Bohemian Exiles in Saxony. N. Arch. 44, p. 155 etc. 53) H. Semmig, Ec. Dev. of Exiles' Settlement of Johannegeorgenstadt. (Of Sax. Past, no. 7, 1931). 54) Alfr. Dietrich, Erzgebirge. Exiles (Villages (1927).

asures for the reconstruction of still deserted farms were continued, still with some success⁵⁵. New villages or rural manors were not established; but the density of population increased in the already existing villages; new small cottages and houses were built which served the tradesmen as living quarters; here and there side villages were established which belonged to the old community. The period showed a not inconsiderable increase in population. At the same time the settlement came closer to each other; this can be clearly recognized in the statistical^{and geographical} material compiled by officials under the rule of Cus⁵⁶. Subsequently, this trend extended geographically and brought about a change in the structure of the settlements. The number of the homeless increased much more than that of the home or farm owners; in the mountains this proportion of the population was up to one third of all inhabitants, more than at the hamlets and small villages of the terrain in the early days of colonization.

Again, there were times of great emergency during the Seven Years' War in Saxony. During the entire period of the fighting Saxony was the battle field where friend and enemy stood against each other. The economic damage done to all inhabitants was tremendous. Again a cultivable land was fallow; the woods were devastated and the localities were destroyed ^{tent} to a great extent. Since the conclusion of peace (1762-63) the reconstruction was taken up with great energy: the steps taken by the 'Restauration Committee' which was established for this purpose, proved to be efficient and well planned in regard to the colonization.⁵⁷

During a long time of peace which followed Saxony's economy developed favorably under a carefully working administration. The population increased; more villages arose and industry, particularly the textile trade in the Erzgebirge, made good progress in Western Saxony and in the Vogtland. The stormy time of

55) Cod. Augusteus (Corp. jur. Sax.) II p. 1539 (1595) 1629 etc. (1705) and others acc. to the records. 56) R. Wuttke, Sax. Aff. p. 189 etc.: Population and its Increase, p. 100 etc. for the 19th century. 57) H. Schmidt-Breitung, Reconstruction of Ec. in Sax. (N. Arch. f. Sax. Hist. 38, p. 120, p. 128).

these. Napoleonic wars brought disturbances to Saxony only for a certain time, although it cannot be denied that they meant a heavy burden on the Saxonian population. Soon after the wars of liberation, after the years of the agrarian crisis had been overcome, the population increased again; but took place very gradually. The interspersing of the rural colonization with urban house building, the formation of the urban terrain as this has been called by geographers, began only with the full development of Saxony towards the industrial state, when the great land surveying was conducted in the years of the beginning agrarian reform; in the pertinent maps and field books the pattern of colonization which had been a tradition for many centuries, was shown in its essential principles for historical research.

2. The Agrarian Constitution.

a) The Units of Rural Settlements and the Economic Units in Rural Areas.

Since early history the family or individual household has been part of a greater unit; the type and formation of them has had a determining influence upon the agrarian constitution. As we have seen in other parts of the country the Germanic colonization was based on the kin and the household. This can be seen more clearly by the significant progress which was made through the transition from the conditions of Slav settlement to the order which was created by the East German colonization. We must therefore understand first this difference between the rural unit formation among the Slavs and the Germans.

The individual settlement places belonged always to the area which was dominated by a greater group within a smaller tribe. These groups can be seen earlier and more numerous than the living places belonging to them. The first information

1) R. Koetzschke, Beginnings of the Margraviate of Meissen (Meissen Sax. Res., 1929) p. 58 etc. Same, About the Social Hist. of the West Slavs (Yearbooks f. Civilization and Hist. of the Slavs, NF, VIII, 1932) p. 8 etc. - W. Schlesinger, Castles and Castle Districts (Land and Civilization, 1937) p. 84, with a compilation of castle localities mentioned in the source material. - Res. on Castle Walls, W. Radig, same place, p. 59 etc.

which concerns the Slavonian tribes between the Saale and the Spree, is found in the records of the so-called Bavarian geographer of St. Emeram, at Regensburg; there fortified places are mentioned with a piece of land each (civitates); the country of the Dalaminziers is said to have had 14 of such pieces of land; for the Western Sorbs 50 are named, for the Milces 30. In the description of the fighting of that time fortified places are mentioned (urbes, also castella); the Slav word for this must have been grod (lateron hród, hródz) as it can be seen from some of the preserved place names (Groitzsch : i.e. grodiste, 'towns of a grod'). However the research done on the castle walls will interpret this picture of such castles, their significance as people's or escape castles, as seats of leading personalities and rulers (castles of the lords) or as religious places must be emphasized in a stronger manner; from documentary evidence it can be seen that walled places served the population living around them as a refuge. The division into castle districts is a characteristic mark of the constitution among the Slavs in the vast areas up to Eastern and Southern Europe². After the German administration had been set up, some changes were made: older castles were closed, new castles were established, at times directly near those which had been destroyed or abandoned. A division into castle districts, castle wards, as it is said in German, with the fixed center of administration remained in such a firm unit that the German kinds donated entire castle districts, that is to say the castle buildings with all the settlement places belonging to them, with the people living there, with usable land, forest, pasture and waters.

In the oldest documents we find the division into protective and defense units. This shows only one of their significances. Conclusive for the deeper understanding are the names which they were given. In many small districts which have all got

²) H.F. Schmid, The Castle District Constitution among the Slav People (Yearbook for Civilization and History of the Slavs II p.100 etc.)

a fixed gathering point we find endings like -ici-, ice, -izi, in plural form, which are derived from a personal name and can be interpreted as a patronymic name after the head of a kin or family, at least after a leader. Then there are names which designate the fortified locality; the defense character is expressed in these names (groba, later ozzec, in German Hain, that is enclosure); it can also be the simple expression of the spot in nature (tuch, cotuch, probably pointing to the hidden and protected place). Those patronymic types of name are old and express the gentile character, perhaps also a manorial order.

Since the introduction of Christianity and the establishment of bishoprics such castle districts were also established as parishes³. At the Castle Place the church was built, at the place where the holy action and the priest were protected best, probably often at a place, where in heathen times a place of worship had been in existence for the people living around it. In the Slav word which was used for such defense churches - 'kostel' (castellum) - and which was in use for a long time, this is expressed clearly (Altenkirchen near Zeitz: ztarecoztol)⁴. The residence of the pastor and the pastoral land with its people (Papitz, Poppitz, German Pfaffendorf, Papendorf and similar places) are usually situated in the direct neighborhood of the defense church. The constitution is clearly recognized by the type of payments which were made: the church tithe was imposed as a total amount (according to bundles of grain) for the entire district⁵; The distribution on the various localities was organized by the parish or the castle ward administration.

-
- 3) H.F. Schmid, The legal Basis of the church organization on West Slav soil and its development during the Middle Ages (1938). Comp the recent publication by W. Schlesinger, The German Church in the Sorb Country and the Church Constitution on West Slav Soil. Mag for Res. on Eastern Probl. 1 (1952).
- 4) Doc. Book of the High Convent of Naumburg I no. 152 (1140).
- 5) Same place, no. 123 (1121), 177 (1146), 212 (1152), 217 (1154) and others; 179 and 188 (1147).

The basis of the formerly existing constitution is explained by the customary expression for parish in the Upper-Sorbian language: (w)osada: its meaning is: the settlers around, that is to say the settlement unit. This word reminds us of the Polish opole (around the field) for which the expression vicinia is used in Latin.⁶ The belonging together of the households which are located in a certain area of terrain on which people can settle amidst of natural boundaries is a characteristic trait of the old agrarian constitutions. It was applied after the settling down of the Sorbs in the free landscapes of the middle part of the Elbe. It cannot be safely ascertained whether a temporary change has taken place in regard to the location, as it has been the case in the far East. It is not quite improbable, however. The described settlement groups had also economic importance, not in the sense of a uniform leadership with a common agrarian economy, a real agrarian communism, but with the right to use the divided land which was located inside a certain area which was intended for the settlers who lived in the 'fields', in the castle ward or the 'supanie'.

Within these greater settlement groups there were also settling places of village character among the Slavs such as we find them later under German administration. This can be seen from the fact that already in Ottonian times there are German name formations ending with -dorf (thorp). Some descriptive stories let us recognize the presence of a village settlements. We get an impression of their nature, when we take the occasionally used term cethla (compare with sedlo, sedlice) as a basis⁷, which is widely spread in Slav languages and means seat or settlement. This apparently plural form (unless there is an adaptation to the Latin word villa) permits us to conclude to a majority of individual^{neighboring}/settlement places, we may say yards. The entire locality was named usually after a name of a person (Miratina cethla, later Mertitz near Lommatzsch; Brochatina

6) H.F. Schmid, The Study of the Social History of the Medieval German legal Settlement on Polish soil (Quarterly for Hist. of Soc. and Ec. Aff. XX, 1927).

7) Cod. dipl. Sax. I. Sec. I, p. 192.

cethla, later Brockwitz, East of Meissen), but we also find German sounding names (Difnouuo cethla, Tiefenau, East of the Elbe)⁸. Clearly recognizable is the term formulated after the belonging together under one superior leader. These names are found in a twofold shape: in a plural formation ending with -ice and similar endings such as the patronymic names mentioned above or with a property designating formation ending with -ino, -ina, -owa, -owo (with the addition of sedlo, settling place, wes, village etc.). Sometimes the two formulations are used for the same locality. The result is that a name was customary after the head of a group of relatives; likewise the word can be interpreted as heir-loom in a family - as property of the grandfather (džědzina inherited property, property; džěd, djed grandfather) or father's property (otacina, baština among the Southern Slavs); these expressions have certainly been used by the Sorbs in the middle part of the Elbe region. Such names are also possible, if they have been formulated after a man in a leading position or if the landed property or the property of people is designated by them. Under the German domination words came up which had quite similar meanings; here German names of persons were used: Cunradice, also Albertitz, Berntitz, Seifertitz, after Conrad, Albert, Bernhard and others; names which were in current use (in special cases derivations from Teutonic names were not completely excluded); in the case of Janowitz after the Sorbis form Jano (for John, Johannes), Pitschuetz after Petz etc. The settling place was independent; it held a special position in economic respect, but it did not have a local law of its own which was separated from the general law. If younger documents are used, we can see here and there, how place names of the same type are used in neighboring localities. This can be interpreted as the result of a settlement expansion developed from one central and original settling place. It was also possible that new extensions or places

8) In the quadrangular field of Brockwitz (also Broctitz) a single deserted yard can be found at the edge.

were established on hitherto not distributed land from one central settling place. The example of Setleboressthorp (Boritz on Elbe) is very instructive, where the settlers obtained the right thanks to imperial authorization, to clear the land from forest within the Boritz district which had formerly been located on royal property (979)⁹. From all this it can be seen that even in later periods field accessories can be ascertained as being located in bellmone¹⁰.

For the formation of common units among the settling population residing in the castle districts of the German-Slavonian time in the March of Meissen and its environment two legally important groups have to be mentioned. First there were the Saups as we can call them in high-German¹¹. An old name for them is the Latin supani. The German name is Aelteste (in Thuringia and Eastern Saxony alderman, Latin seniores); it is not certain whether starosta, starši was used among the Sorbs. The word comes from the Slav root župa which means a land area, or a kin association. The presence of supanes is connected with the Slav constitution in the Sorb region. Supposedly their significance was based on a dominating position in a settlement area which was enclosed in some way or other by nature or a unity between the tribes. A certain political interest may have played a part here. Under the German administration there was a certain relation between them and the castle wards, as we can see from the location of their seats which will be shown later on (Baderitz near Zschaitz, that is podgradice 'below the castle'); castle ward and 'supanie' are not the same; in the castle ward there were usually several supanies (in the Meissen area usually two). Their position becomes clearer during the Stauffer period (1181). The Saups were under the German law and the administration connected with it as it existed

9) Dipl. Otto II (979/983), Cod. dipl. Sax. I, I no. 23.

10) Loebnitz-Bennwitz near Pegau.

11) R. Koetzsche in Res. on Meissen/Sax. p. 41; Same, On the Social History of the West Slavs, p. 16 etc. - Joh. Leipoldt, Nature and Changes of the Saup Constitution in the District of Meissen (Land and Civilization p. 140 etc.). - W. Schlesinger, Formation of Regional Sovereignty, p. 223 etc.

after the formation of the castle shires. Their job was the cooperation with and the attendance at the 'Landding', where judgments were found and testimony was given about the Wends. They had to pass on the instructions to their people who were not obliged to do labor service; they had also to collect the income for the state and they were certainly active in the military service of the rural population. They were equipped with one or several hides. Their relationship to the settlement and the villages varied according to the different regions. This is of importance for the historic interpretation of their presence. In the Northwest they are called the oldest of the village. This applies to the region of the lower Elster, in the jurisdictional districts of Eisfeld and Horburg where it is expressly stated that these elders of the villages are called 'supanes' in the language of the inhabitants¹². As we have early shapes of regular villages here with quadrangular-like fields, it is not improbable that they came into these positions in the villages during the transformation which was made under German influence; likewise other designations (Priestaeblich near Markkranstaedt) from Slav periods were taken up into the new constitution. In the shire of Rochlitz, the later jurisdictional district, Saupes were settled in several villages¹³. At Stoetznig, Northeast of the town, which is a clear radial village with a quadrangular terrain, they held the entire village; at some villages on both sides of the depression they had only a few yards, perhaps always the nucleus. Till modern times the Saupes were jurymen in the district court; they had also to work in the service of traffic and of conveying in the streets and to keep Saup horses. They enjoyed the privilege of a special court for their internal affairs under a Saupian judge with a costume of his own. At the majority of the lo-

12) Doc. Book Merseburg I. no. 428.

13) Cf. Pfau, 'The Saupes of the old Rochlitz District Court (1900); The Community of the Rochlitz Saupes (1935).

calities under the German jurisdiction there were no Saupes ; there were none within the area which was cleared from forest. In the old district of Daleminzien, in the district of Meissen, where the Wend legal language was maintained up to the end of the burgrave time in 1428, the Saupian constitution adhered to its ancient character in a particularly tenacious manner¹⁴. The Saupes, originally 14, occupied the jurymen's bench in the legal district of Old Lommatzsch. They held an official or service manor which in one case was called manor of the eldest (Basslitz near Grossenhain); it was only small but they were also entitled to individual property so that their income and the reputation based on it could be greater than according to the official manor. They served in a group of localities belonging together; they were mostly located closely to each other, in an often geographically curious formation; parts of them were separated only in rare cases. It cannot be ascertained by the historians whether this division developed naturally during the Slav period or whether it was organized by the Germans. The individual locality was only loosely organized; it was a group of settlers who were incorporated into a greater community which had some political importance and called Supanie-Association. In the Meissen region where the hilly country favored the continuance of old types of settlements with small villages and hamlets with their irregular small fields, where tradition and custom were preserved, we can see what significance the Saupes may have had in the formation of the rural communities. A similar activity was deployed by the so-called Witzessen, particularly in the environment of Meissen; they were more active in the service for the princes and regional work than in the formation of settlement communities¹⁵. We will deal with their social position in history and with the

14) J. Leipoldt, at above place. - Register of the Margraves of Meissen, 1378 etc., 270 etc., 380 etc.

15) Register of 1378, p. 283 etc., 390 etc., comp. below par. 2b: Manor and Peasant Land.

mention Kretzschar who has played a part in the early rural period. The inn (taberna; Sorbis korčma, Kretzschar) which he had, was also a ^tcollecting place for all kinds of secular or ecclesiastical taxes to be stored and forwarded, maybe also for sale; frequently in the neighborhood of the castle (Priesnitz near Dresden)¹⁶. For local traffic and in the environment it has helped develop the community. Later on we find the Kretzschar also in the village administration, even in new German settlements.

On the rural constitution which showed subsequent Slav influence the following information may be added which concerns old customs¹⁷. At places between Dresden and Meissen the call pojceremo! was still heard around 1850; at that time it was probably not understood; it means: come to the community. hromada means the being together (huddle) in the Wend language; that is to say: come to the community meeting! Similar expressions are mentioned for the Lueneburg Wendland¹⁸. The 'Guesse' who holds the office of a village mayor, stands under the peasant tree at the village and calls 'kolo di pulo' (herut up strat, holla!), when he wants to gather the community. The clapper plank is sounded or a curved piece of wood is used: kolo is the rod which serves to give information, such as Keule (club) in the March Brandenburg which corresponds to the Polish kula which is derived from it. The 'Guesse' who is entitled to Guesteneitz (chuesenitz), that is 'Castland' (guest land) in the terrain to be used by him tax exempt, has got his designation as a guest, after his obligation to be a host to the people or to be an inn-keeper. We will come back to this, when we deal with a special group of people in the Meissen region (hospites). The Wutzschken (South of Leipzig), perhaps comparable to the Witzessen, had a string around their neck which was considered

¹⁶Castle Place and Original Pastorate of Briessnitz near Dresden: Doc. Book High Convent of Meissen, Cod. dipl. Sax. II, 1, no. 274 (1286). ¹⁷O. Trautmann, Bull. of Dresden Hist. Soc. no. 21, 1909. ¹⁸H. F. Schmid, Contr. to Hist. of Language and Law of early Slav Population of present Northeastern Germany (Mag. Slav. Philology, VII, 109 etc.). - On the 'Guesteneitz' see also A. Krenzlin, Civilization of Hanover Wendland, p. 28 and 31 (Res. Germ. Aff., vol. 28; 1931). - See also Mag. for Slav Philology 15, 1938, p. 38.

as a sign that they were not free. Could it not remind us the former message service with the string bundle?

The development of local life at the places of German origin is characterized by a number of types which took shape chronologically¹⁹. The most simple form is described in the story about the settlements of Wiprecht von Groitzsch in the forests between Wyhra and Mulde²⁰. It says that the settling took place according to communities of families and that the village or the possession was named accordingly. There were living groups which were held together by natural ties. We can see this directly in the case of Lausnick whereas we can find greater village formations, probably of younger origin, and therewith also a genuine local constitution both in the neighborhood and further away. The further development is determined by the extent to which the local community gets jurisdictional assignments of the state or lordship. This is distinct in the activities of the head of the local community. In the early German colonization we meet the 'Heimbuerge' and the 'Bauermeister' as holders of the local offices. There are differences among them as to origin, location and tribal custom. The office of a 'Heimbuerger' was customary in the German West, particularly also in Thuringia; from there it spread across the Saale and Elster towards the East. We can find the Heimbuerger in the environment of Rochlitz and further South towards the mountains, frequently around Leisnig, occasionally near Meissen, more frequently in the Elbe valley at Dresden, here and there also in old villages and new villages, where the land was cleared from forest; at the latter they were perhaps given a lower rank from the very beginning²¹. This has not been expressed by the coining of a special term for a local

19) K. Heinz Quirin, Sovereignty and Local Community according to Central German sources of the 12th to the 13th century (1952). - Compare Klingner, Collections on Village and Rural Law (1749 etc.) part. part I.

20) Ann. Pegavienses (Mon. Germ. SS XVI, for 1104; see above p. 69).

21) Evidence in the Regulations for the Local Communities, also in the official records of the 16th century; Quirin, at another place, p. 69 etc.

community of people living together at the same place, although the term 'Heim' was not unknown in its meaning of 'Dorf' (village), e.g. Heimfeld. The office of the Heimbuerge was closely connected with the local community. The Heimbuerge was selected from among the members of the community according to the guild by the community itself or by the jurisdictional district or the estate, and where there were several estates according to a system of appointment and in a joint action. The competency and the authority of the Heimbuerge were different. His duties and rights concerning the maintenance of order in the villages and fields were essential. He convoked the community for the meetings and conducted them together with others. He collected the local taxes and other dues; his job was above all to take care of the organization of the terrain (inspection of the damage done to the fields, the marking out of fenced pieces of land etc.). Later on the Heimbuerge were used for jobs for lower and even higher jurisdiction by the district or by the gentlemen of the court; some of these jobs were really incumbent upon the 'Landding' (diet) or the holder of a 'Dingstuhl' (parliamentary chair) which did not exist at every village. Therefore, his designation alternated with that of a judge, particularly when he had to act as a jurymen at the district court. Gradually the designation and the office of the Heimbuerge degenerated.

A more advanced type of local government was represented by the 'Bauermeister'; we do not know whether this office was widely customary in the March of Meissen. The office and the authority of the Bauermeister belong to the old Saxonian tradition just as the 'Bauerschaft' had spread on old Saxonian soil. This influence came from the Eastern part of Saxony. The Sachsenspiegel (Saxonian code of law) II, 55, III, 64, 86 and I, 68, gives us information about this²². It is expressly stated

22) Sachsenspiegel II, 55; I 68²; III 56, 64¹¹; 86. Picture in the Dresden Picture Handwriting (for instance table 8); Compare v. Amira, Explanations I 57, II 117 (on table 104).

that there was a local community (geburschaft), not only with an unorganized cooperation of the inhabitants (gebure); there was a definite local order. It was the job of the Bauermeister to promote the wellbeing of the village. He was supposed to do this with the will of the majority; there was the right to take resolutions and to establish regulations (willekor). He represented the village, the Bauerschaft in legal conflicts. He himself had the lowest jurisdiction with entitled peasants as helpers; his authority could extend up to judgments on "injuries" of skin and hair for which a certain fine (gewette) was laid down. In particular he had to pay attention to damage done to the fields (the ploughing of the community land, the furnishing of trenches or the fencing in). The inventor of the pictorial handwriting of the Sachsenspiegel has conceived of the Bauermeister as of a man in a peasant costume with a yellow straw hat as emblem, as the leader of the settlers at the establishment of the village (III,79). Later on, his name got lost in the Meissen region of Saxony, and the term 'Bauerschaft' did not become customary here.

Since the climax of German colonization a new type of local order spread which followed the pattern of the main lines of colonization. The buildings of the villages were more solid; the local terrain was got fixed boundaries, and the local order of the new villages was organized in a more complete manner; on the part of the church this was paralleled by the foundation of a local pastorage. The new order found its stronghold in the application of jurisdiction. The position and activities of the Schultheiss (scultetus) ^(village mayor) / who was at the head, were characteristic. He is first mentioned in the document for the Flemings at Kuehren in 1154 of whom it is said that they used this term instead of the word Bauermeister. In the new settlements local jurisdiction is applied, whereas the 'Vogtting' (bailiff's meeting) was reserved to

the bailiff of the lord of the court, the bishop of Meissen three times a year for the heavy cases. From the legal fees and dues the Schulze (village mayor) gets one third, just as the judge. As at Flemmingen the settlers, the local community, will have obtained the right to occupy this office according to their own choice; it seems that this service alternated. The village mayor's court was competent mainly for matters affecting the inheritance law and landed property, but it has also issued judgments in conflicts and small matters. During court proceedings the new settler who had just come from other parts of the country found it convenient that the so-called 'vare' (danger) had been eliminated, as he was not required to use prescribed formal versions and/certain other formalities. ^{to observe} Two hides were set aside for the village mayor at Kuehren; they had the privilege of being tithe-exempt. In the 16th century the district of Wurzen was entitled to occupy the office. The farm of the village mayor was distributed among several local residents. - In the Franconian settlements of the region which had been cleared from forest, the local order was mainly the same as described above. Jurisdiction was introduced on the local level. A distinction was made ^a between the annual meeting (Dreiding (three (times) meeting, police court) and the usual local court. At the beginning the term Schulze to designate the chairman of the village court and of the village community was not unknown. Later on, the term judge (Richter) became prevalent. The holding of the office was regulated in different ways. We have information about this only from evidence of a later time. The regulation must go back to the time of foundation. The rooting in the field layout proves this. In many villages, above within the sphere of colonization of the regional sovereign, the office of the village mayor was connected with the possession of land, mostly according to hides, tenures or according to the width of the number of perches; this land

was inherited. There was a court-baron which was incumbent upon the judge (village mayor). It could, however, also be customary that the mayor was appointed by the lordship; this would apply to villages which had been founded by a knightly lord of the manor or which had been acquired by him later on. In comparison with other estates in the village the estate of the mayor was a big estate. There were certain privileges connected with it, particularly the right of brewing and selling drinks: frequently the court-baron served as an inn and in Upper Lusatia it was called Kretscham. It was possible for the community to get advantages in regard to the jurisdiction through legal conflicts with the lordship, and to improve its legal position by means of a contract or purchase²³.

After all this it is evident that since the German colonization we can speak of a genuine local order in our country. This order was not established in the late Middle Ages. When the decisive progress in the organization of jurisdiction had been made at the settlers' village and through the appointment of a holder of the office for this, we can say that this extended beyond the application of jurisdiction. The different administrative problems were connected with all this; at the village there were problems which resulted from the living together at the same place; there was a local and field police. The local community life became more uniform. In the late stages of the Middle Ages we can notice certain symptoms of^a loosening organization. The reason is the relationship towards landed property and court sovereignty. The villages of the colonization were probably established on account of the initiative of the governing powers. It was only an exception, when several authorities worked together in this; it is possible, however, that there was cooperation in regard to the organization of the outer fields. But the lords of the manor expected privileges according to their power at various places, where there was an

²³) Cod. dipl. Sax., I. Sec. II 523 for the year 1186 (Koetzsche, Sources, no. 26).

opportunity. The jurisdictional rights which were originally the competency of the margraves or the lords who worked on a Reich level, were sold to various acquirers. They mixed and crossed in various graduations. The community of a village as an association of people living at the same place, was not dissolved. But the different types of competency showed often a great variety both in the village and the fields.

For a long time we have only a few individual documents to ascertain the order of the rural settlement and economic units; but since the 16th century the village regulations, the disorderliness and the lowest courts as well as the court registers', in Upper Lusatia also the minutes of the marriage courts of the councils' villages, and the jurymen's books, and finally, various contracts and proceedings between the local community and the court administration a clear picture is formed. The field-book-like notes give also information; the same applied to the scientific legal literature which has been published since the middle of the 17th and particularly in the 18th century. There is no popular term as such. People spoke mostly of the village or 'Dorfschaft'. The best characterization would be the term neighborhood: neighbors who farm, live and work at the same place or close to each other. But this term is not a clear-cut word. In the legal sense the notion of neighbor is limited. The right of the neighbor is only enjoyed by the residents who have their residence at the village itself and who have land in the village terrain, hides or hide -arts. This right was originally only given to the people who had been living at the village for a long time, at the villages with a hide system; it was the old hidesmen community. Gradually the right was extended; the small peasants acquired the neighborhood right; later on it was applied also to the holders of pieces of land with a house for living purposes; however in this respect the development differs in the various localities. Originally the neighborhood community was formed by farmers. In later times

the neighborhood community was characterized by a certain agrarian-industrial mixture, after the monetary system had been introduced also in the low country areas. This applied still to a greater extent to the living association of the village, particularly to greater villages, since the number of tenants who did not belong to the family household, only paid rent earning their livelihood by work on land they did not possess, increased considerably. The neighborhood right was reserved to the heads of the household; the other members of the household did not get the neighborhood right. The membership in the community extended to other residents who were under the local order and obliged to do certain services. In regard to field property it was pointed out that also strangers (forensic representatives) held such property and benefited from it. The courts have always been of decisive importance for the local community; its divisions which had developed historically, continued to exist. Higher and lower jurisdiction were distinguished according to their competency, the former for heavier cases, the latter for lighter cases and civil matters. The jurisdiction could be separate, one for the village and one for the fields; even within the village the legal authority was sometimes limited to the farms inside the inherited fences (fence jurisdiction). The meadow or the village grounds had a special position at times. Decisive for the unity of the local community was the court-baron. It had to interpret the judicial law, and usually it was connected with a manor. The patrimonial jurisdiction was in force. Its holder exercised local government authority. In most cases the uniformity remained. When there was a division an agreement could be made. Every effort was made to give every jurisdictional area the authority of supreme jurisdiction, so that in this respect the terrain and the fields were not divided up to a great extent. In regard to the persons serving at the courts of the villages, the term 'judge' was used too much for the person at the head of the court; people felt that this title sounded more dignified than the different traditional terms used for this position. He was

was assisted by village jurymen, often two of them, who gave testimony before the court, made inspections and did other errands; they collected also legal fees, regulated inheritance matters in the village, assisted in cases involving ^u guardians etc. and rendered other services. The judges and the jurymen had to deal with purely local matters. The main objective was to keep the peace of the place. The property of the village had to be administrated. They had to inspect the boundaries of the village terrain, to inspect the paths and roads, the waters, field ditches and water furrows, to assure the observance of the field order, to control the application of the regulations concerning the protection of the fruit trees, the cattle and poultry. to watch the fire order in the village and other matters. Since the time of the Reformation they had also to take care of the respect of the holy Sunday and church customs²⁴. In the course of time they were used for the organization of contributions imposed by the state and for other assignments of the higher administration.

There have certainly been conflicts between rural communities and the jurisdiction during the centuries after the impact of the great peasant war in 1525. It was not a question of the Saxonian constitution or the basic rights, but more a matter who is to exercise authority in matters which have a practical bearing. It was a question of the use of the community land, of fallow land and pasturage after harvest on the manors and peasant land, of common pasture and of the amount of several land taxes. The two parties have fought in long proceedings; the peasant communities acted always individually; they never joined for common action; they could not obtain permanent success. Only towards the end of the periods of the old agrarian constitutions, after the outbreak of the revolution in France, in 1790 greater peasant revolts took place in Saxony. They spread from the Elbe regions of Meissen towards the depression; they were not directed against the state and not so much against the gentlemen of the

24) R. Koetzschke, The oldest Paragraphs of the Council Villages of Leipzig (Publ. Soc. Hist. Leipz., X, 1911, p. 1 etc.) - Par. of Villages of University of Leipzig etc. in Klingner's collections on village and peasant law. Lists and allusions to the contents at Quirin, at above men¹³² place and at H. Kuntze, Rural Communities.

courts but more against their subordinate officials who handled manorial claims in an arbitrary manner²⁵. More general quests for a change of the local order were not raised. The authorities promised reforms; they were discussed and experiments were made; however, no tangible results were achieved for a generation.

Only in the times of the great agrarian reforms during the Saxonian peasant liberation a new order of the rural community came into being. After the urban order with self-government for the towns had been realized in 1832, the diet resolved on Nov. 7, 1838 to introduce a rural community order for the Kingdom of Saxony incl. Upper Lusatia²⁶. The new organization was introduced very carefully; it resembled the existing order, but important reforms were put into practice. In general, the local districts, villages and fields, were to form closed units which the first measures for the great surveying of the fields (field maps) for the land tax reform of 1835 and the following years had paved the way. Only one authority was at the head of the village and the terrain. Where there had been several authorities hitherto the government made a selection. The authority was connected with the court-baron. After the patrimonial jurisdiction had gone over to the state in 1855 on the basis of a state law, the rural community was separated from this manorial bond. The composition of the rural community and the rights of its self-government were greatly extended in 1838. The membership in the local community which hitherto had been reserved to the residents, was extended to non-residents; however, the latter did not enjoy the same rights to the fullest extent; there was a difference in the right to vote for the local government representation. For this purpose the traditional division into hidesmen, gardeners, cottagers and tenants remained. The transition was now open to all those who were not engaged in farming but in trade and commerce. According to the

25) H. Schmidt-Breitung, The Saxonian Peasant Revolts of 1790 (Leipzig, Diss. 1907).

26) H. Kunze, Rural Community, p. 55 etc., 75 etc.

24) continued: and their Status in the Kingdom of Saxony (Diss. 1919), p. XVI etc.

new regulations of 1838 the entire local community is represented by the local council. The latter is convoked and the meetings are conducted by the local board, which executes the decisions made by the council and takes care of the general local administration. It is assisted in this by the eldest - one or two - and by committee members which control certain sections of community affairs. The village officials are chosen by the community and not by the authorities. The work of the local administration was similar to its previous activities: security service on the village area, peasant matters, police surveillance, control over/strangers, welfare for the poor in the 'home district'. Outside the village attention had to be paid to the paths, roads and waters. The mergers which were introduced and the divisions of common land needed also attention. The economic administration of the welfare for the field order disappeared after the obligation to cultivate certain fields with certain plants was abolished and the individual farms obtained more autonomy. The rights at common land as far as it continued to exist, was reserved to those who had this right before. This was no new reform, but the rural community was incorporated into the new state of Saxony; it was the cell and local level of the state administration; the local community was the smallest district in the organization of the entire region of the state.

b) Manors and Peasant Farms; the economic-social stratification of the working population in rural areas.

A fundamental characteristic trait of the living and economic association which has determined the history of agriculture in the Meissen/Saxonian regions and in Upper Lusatia for a millenium, is the parallel presence of the manor and the peasant land in both the village and the field. The existence of the manor was closely connected with the work of the peasants in the same terrain and on the manorial land belonging to it. The peasant had to work for it, and part of the profit made by the peasant had to be contributed.

Besides the manor we have to study the peasant land, peasant law and peasant economy as well as related sociological groups of the working population in rural areas. An introduction into the historic appreciation of the location of the settlement in the field map has to pay particular attention to this fact¹. The term 'manor' has to be interpreted in a sharply defined manner, not loosely or as an accessory. The holder of rural property, even the peasant, is master in his household and over the servants who is under him. But his yard and estate, even if it very vast, is no manor. The notion of a manor exists only in cases in which we find manorial rights ~~connected with it~~ and legal rights, if they pertain to the estate. The meaning of peasant and peasant land must also be clearly defined; it must not be too vague. A peasant is a person who holds a rural piece of land of adequate extension where he resides, on which he works or where he controls the work for the purpose of earning a livelihood for himself and his family; in the older language they speak of working for food. An estate is a house and yard with land belonging to them which is under permanent management; the peasants has an inner connection with it. First there is the question, whether a manor can be found already in the pre-German time². It is not a question of ascertaining the social or economic conditions prevailing in the Sorbic region; it would be very difficult anyway as there is very little evidence on hand. It is more a question what the subsequent impact was of that old time and in which manner the conditions reigning under German domination were influenced; it is the possibility to make comprehensible manors in their typical characteristics shown by the field maps. The upper class of the Sorbic small tribes (small kings, princes, knez) have had considerable economic means at their disposal. They were entitled to them and received them on account of the payments made to the princes, or through

1) E.O.Schulz, The Colonization and Germanization of the Regions between Saale and Elbe (1896), part. chapter I, III 1/2, IV, VI, VII.- G.Dame, Dev.Rur.Ec.in Dresden-Meissen-Elbe area (1911)-Joh.Langer, Exc.through Fields and Villages of the Erzgebirge (1931)-R.Koetzschke, State and Peasants in Thur. and Upper Sax. (Nobility and Peasants in the Germ.Medieval State, 1943)-H.L.Hofmann, Manors in Kingd.Sax. Outline of their hist.and legal Status with top.and stat.Material. New ed.byv.A.Burgmann and W.Feldmann (1914).
For footnote 2) see page 138.

profits from large estates which they cultivated themselves or as lords of the manor. The latter cannot be clearly ascertained. When such type of property was existent near the castle walls or dispersed in the country, was lost during the border fights or came to the German king. The broad mass of the Slav population was in a state of dependence; according to the castle district order they had been dependent already during pre-German times; it was more true after the conquest of the country. This can be seen by the donations of castle wards made by German kings. Together with the material values in the castle district, yards, buildings, fields and others, including the people living there, mancipia, were given away. These things did not belong to a manorial estate but to the castle. We have to think of a kind of castle serfdom under the sovereignty of the prince. The Smurdes, the most widely spread group of the population of Slav origin, can be compared with the 'duke peasants' of Silesia (and the Smerdes under the Great-Princes of Russia). If there has been a group of the small nobility among the Sorbs, for which assertion, however, we have no evidence, we could not conceive of these small noblemen as lords of the manor; they would be more like free peasants in other countries of Eastern Europe who possessed large yards on which they lived with their families, comparable to the farms in the East with one yard. The names of localities formed with names of persons confirm this (ending in -ina, -owa and others). They are interpreted as being indicative of the possession. The word for the settlement place (Latin cethla for villa - Slav: sedlo) points to such yard settlement³. Around 1070 a free man of Slav origin is mentioned (Bor) who was able to could dispose of several small villages in the Meissen area and has to be considered as lord of the manor, but who was not a holder of a group of manors. The selection of field pieces which are exempt from guard and delivery of corn for the castle, for the manors⁴ is certainly instructive in regard to the history of government. Even if we can ascertain an obsolete custom in Slavonian countries according to which the corn is poured when it is paid, the regulation of the impost of such payment on the land in the Meissen area can have

been established only under German administration so that conclusions as to the periods before cannot provide evidence. As we can see the organization of the terrain according to German patterns did not lack in these areas.

The establishment of real manors which deserve this designation, starts after the establishment of German administration in the marches East of the Saale. The first data which are available, are contained in a list of royal courts in Saxony which must be ascribed to the early reign of King Henry IV. (around 1064)⁵. There Altenburg, Leisnig and Bautzen, places which are known to us as seats of burgraves in later times, are mentioned as royal courts (*curiae*) to which the 'Koenigsdienst' (*servitium regis*) has to be delivered as royal tableware. Then there are two land areas; the suburbs or castle places (Nisan, Milska) are not mentioned. They are not described as farm yards; they are mentioned only as collecting points for the deliveries, particularly when the king takes residence there. A yard must have been in existence, not as a center of a free association of yards or 'villication' according to the original German pattern. Similar information is given for another royal hoestates, for the seats of the margrave (Meissen, Strehla, Rochlitz), of the bishop of Meissen and for the holders of the various royal tenures. There were farm-yards of different sizes at the suburbs of the castle wards, from which the manors may have emerged later on, provided the castle locality did not degenerate. There were also knightly men who were free and came from German families; they held a castle seat with manorial accessories. Fortified seats spread in increasing numbers since the 11th century outside the castles on the lowlands, where vassals of the big propriety holders settled; they were supposed to be inducted into the army, but at the same time they provided a certain protection for the rural population at the locality itself and in the environment. Recently, a castle seat was excavated in the region of Zeitz and it can be assumed that it was a castle

of such type⁶. Their holders are simple knights according to 3) Dipl. Henry II 269:1013, July 19. see R. Koetzsche at another place, p.31. 4) C. Trautmann, at another place, p.47 etc. 5) O. Dobenecker, *Regesta dipl. necnon epist. hist. Thuringiae*, I (1896) no. 653. - A. Schulte, *List of Royal Tableware and Services of 1064/5* (N. Arch. f. older Germ. Hist., vol. 41, comp. 45.) - M. Stimming, *The Germ. Royal Estate in the 11th and 12th century* (1922). - Br. Heusinger, *Servitium regis*

vassal law (ministeriales). Unlike the heavily armed knights who had their house and place of service on the big castles of the country, they are compared with the milites agrarii with justification. In younger documents they are called rural knights, milites provinciales, around Meissen. They were mostly Germans. But there are also Slav names, particularly in the Elbe valley while this area was under Bohemian domination. They did not belong to the Witzessen who became peasants. The farms connected with them had only little land, even if it covered the whole locality. Later on they covered only a few hides, probably block-shaped, with pasture, bush or forest pieces. The farming was organized by the holder himself with the assistance of the servants and with horses and carts of his own. Some field pieces may possibly have been given to dependent people who rendered auxiliary services and made payments to the farm. This was the beginning of a manorial relationship, of the formation of a manor. This settlement of armed farmers was a significant development of early German colonization, which belongs to the times of the Salian-Franconian kings, and of the margraves of Thuringian-Brunswick origin. It is not known whether prior to and after the year 1100 the agrarian arable land of such farms was extended in the village terrain of the region of old colonization, at least in the neighborhood of the royal estate, perhaps already in the early German patterns. A few individual observations of the history of the terrain point to such assumption.

The described conception of the German origin of the earliest real manors in the March-Meissen region is confirmed, when we consider the peasant aspect. It is food for thought that in the Sorb

-
- 5) continued: Arch. for Doc. Res., VIII, 1923). - K. Schrod, The List of the Tableware of the Roman King (1938).
 6) P. Grimm, The Wall Castle 'Der Kessel' (The Basin) near Kretzschau-Groitzschen, District of Zeitz, Yearly Mag. for Central German Prehistory, 35 (1951), p. 161 etc.
 2) R. Koetzsche, On the Soc. Hist. of Western Slavs (Yearb. Slav. Civ. and Hist. NF, p. 5 and f.) - O. Trautmann, Hist. of Col. of Dresden Area (Bull. Soc. Hist. Dresden, XXII, 1912).

Vend language the word bur meaning peasant (in the full sense) must be considered as a loan-word from the Teutonic or Germanic language⁷. After German domination had been established a Sorb farming population had been left behind in the old living places, under a foreign administration; it adhered to its economic and social grouping. There were servants whose body was dependent upon the lord and who could be called up for labor service on the land. But they were not peasants, because they made a poor living in independence. The case was different with the Smurdes. Their Slav designation was originally probably coined by the nobility in the East which belonged to another race; it was used in a contemptuous sense. Their presence points to the existence of a Sorb population⁸. They had spread over all areas of the old region of colonization. According to the oldest evidence available they were farming peasants (coloni). Occasionally they are put on the same level as the Free (or less Free), when they are on an ecclesiastical estate. The documents of the 12th century show that they cultivated the land and that they had hides, however, to a small extent only. (At Plauen in Vogtland there was a case, where there were four on one hide.) According to tribal law they can be counted as members of the Lites (Lates) of Old-Saxony. If it is said that they did daily service, they cannot be compared with the workers mentioned in the Sachsenspiegel. We can think of their unmeasured services which they rendered. It is true, Smurdes became landless at times. Therefore, it can be understood that a few of them were seen as servants in their daily work. It cannot be established for the Meissen/Saxonian region, but it is very probable that originally the Smurdes, such as the Smurdes West of the Saale, had to pay marriage fees and death tributes to the lord. They adhered to their rural way of life and merged with the German peasants. At a time, when the word is no longer understood it says the following in the register of the Merseburg Cathedral Chapter: (1330): 'Schmordhuven' are the hides, on which the peasants sit⁹. In Lusatian areas the word is not used; but it is known further East. - In the royal documents for the bishopric of Naumburg (1040 - 1065) Aldien, 7) Information from B. Schier. 8) R. Koetzschke, at another place, p. 22 etc. (deviating from E. O. Schulze's conception). 9) Doc. B. Merseburg I, p. 1063/5.

(aldiones) are mentioned besides the Smurdes.¹⁰ They were related to them without the legal status of both showing a clear contrast toward each other. Probably it is a choice of words made by the Royal Italian Chancelry which wants to explain a foreign group East of the Saale in terms of Aldien in Lombardy; maybe that they were in a more or less distinct status of ^{more} limited freedom than their environment. In any case they are peasants. The expression is no longer known by later documents. - On East Saxonian soil a document (1043) mentioned after the Smurdes also the Lassens (? in high German, Latin: lasci), with the addition: from wherever they may have come¹¹. They are an unsteady population element, without a firm relationship to the land which is given to them only temporarily and on a revocable basis, in the same way as it was done with the Lassites in Lusatia later on. They may have appeared also in the Meissen region. They may have been the 'guests' who are mentioned after the Smurdes (hospites) in younger documents.

Among the population of Slav origin there is a socially and legally distinct group: the Saupes and the Witzessens whom we have mentioned already in the description of the settlement association.¹² In old Sorbic times the Supanes are ascribed a status of domination in their small districts or villages. They may also have had larger property. But nothing points to the possibility that they have held real manors or that they have been lords in the villages. Nothing was preserved up to the times of the German administration. The official and service tenures they got later on, were given to them by the Germans. They were not lords of the manor in the village. They did not belong to the gentlemen of the courts. They lived like the peasants. - In the rural order the Witzessens (Weitessens) had a similar but different position. The first documentary mention made of them (in 1181 for the Convent on the

10) Doc. B. Naumburg I, nos. 45 and 61. 11) Same, I no. 49. 12) See above p. 92. - R. Koetzsche, Soc. Hist. of West-Slavs p. 16 etc. - J. Leipoldt, Saupian Order at Meissen Jurisdiction (Land and Civ. p. 140 etc.).

Lauterberg near Halle) calls them withasii; they are characterized as people who have to give their horses for certain services; they were also obliged to appear at the 'Landding'. They had spread over the entire region of the East-Saalian/^{German}marches. Later on, they are mentioned only in rare cases (East of Merseburg). Greater numbers of them can be found only in the environment of Meissen. It is justified to bring the Wethenici into a historical connection with them¹³. The Wethenici are described in Thietmar's chronicle; in German and Latin they are called also cukesburgiensis. They lived below the castle of Meissen and were vassals of lower rank doing military service. Whether the term which was interpreted by Thietmar as a traditional Slav word, can be traced back to the original Slavonian vetje (council meeting) or vitu, the bundle as a sign of induction into the army or to the council meeting, as it has been said in Slav quarters is irrelevant here, because it is of importance only for the history of political order in the Eastern Slavonian areas. In the case of the castle of Meissen the induction must have been a German measure, although also Slav speaking people were used. The Witzessens from the suburb of the castle area were probably settled here; they may have mixed with the Germans and merged with them. In the records of the 14th to 16th centuries we find them (witzessin; weytzessen etc.) in the former narrow castle district and area of the state court of Meissen (at the same time original pastorate of St. Afra)¹⁴. They are now called peasants under whom there are other people who have to make payments. Like the Saupes they were equipped with small official tenures besides their own property. It is also ascertained that they were under the obligation to keep tenure horses. The Witzessens had their residence and their property at the hamlets and small fields of the old land. Under the heading 'Among Witzessens'

13) Thietmar V 9, VI 55, VIII 23. The interpretation attempted by R. Holtzmann (Contr. to Hist. of Margrave Gunzelin of Meissen, Sax. and Anhalt 8, 119 etc.) in regard to cukesburgiensis at Gunzelin von Keuschberg (near Duerrenberg on Saale) is highly improbable, because a designation after a castle seat is not customary at that time and as the Slav word vethenici is explained by this. - Re the etymology see H. F. Schmid, Contr. to Hist. of Lang. and Law (Mag f. Slav Philology VII, 116 etc. The Meissen vethenici.).
 14) Registrum dom. march. Missnensium 1378, publ. by H. Reschörner, I, 1933, p. 595. - J. Leipoldt, at another place, p. 144 etc. Ten Weizessens

a considerable number of larger villages is mentioned which are situated South of Meissen around the Triebisch valley, in the former border forest toward the neighboring district, where German colonization on forest hides without any recognizable nucleus has been encouraged by Franconian settlers under German lords (Taubenheim). According to the tradition it can be assumed that they had to collect taxes (military tax) from the old region and rendered perhaps also other services. At other places, such as the Elbe valley near Dresden, tenure people (feodales) are mentioned in comparable positions. In Sorbic language *wicaz* designates the tenure man, both in legal respect and when the names are given.

During the Stauffer period, in the course of the prospering German colonization period, the formation of manors progressed both in regard to numbers and in legal and economic respects. The knightly nobility, as it can be called now in terms of constitutional history, increased considerably, as the resident families increased and an influx of people came from the motherland Germany¹⁵. According to authority and economic power a group of lords was formed, besides the burgrave families and the free noblemen, the Reich officials in contrast to the simple knights; this was reflected also in the graduation of the manors. In the old territory the number of knightly estates of small size increased. New estates were founded, in the Meissen region with clear name formation after one of the margrave officials (Konrad Spanseil, Conradiz, Churschuetz), in other cases in the new building on merged living places of an already existing settling place (Goelln near Meissen). Frequently the yard land of the older armed seats was expanded through an extension of the cultivation and through further clearing of forest. There were several possibilities. New land was added to the yards

- 14) continued: 2 each from Schlotta and the four neighboring localities, occupied the jurymen's bench in a group at the bridge of Meissen (1541/43) where they had to make their reports
- 15) Elis. Lueresen, Knightly Families of the March of Meissen (1916). - O. Posse, The Seals of the Nobility of the Wettinian Regions (1903/17) - E. O. Schulzen Chap. VII Manorial Order. - Comp. above p. 71 etc. and the books on the hist. of colonization - Recently, the two works by H. Helbig, The Wettinian State till 1485 (Hab. Publ. Leipz. 1949), unprinted, and by H. Schieckel, The Sovereignty of the Margraves of Meissen and the Development of the Sax. Officialdom. (phil. diss. 1949).

which were farmed from the manor so that the size of the cultivated land was on the increase. Usable land was also given to building places and smaller farms; even servants received land in return for services and payments; small block-shaped or strip-shaped bellmong pieces and small strips were formed in the terrain; there was even a shape which was similar to the quadrangular blocks. In this way the cultivated land increased in size and the manorial rights of the holder, the protection given by him and his legal authority, even if he did not hold the right of jurisdiction. These manors have also external characteristics. They were not only protected by a plank fence, an earth wall or a ditch but frequently also by a tower and by brick-work. Tower estates were formed as the Sachsenspiegel shows in its picture handwriting¹⁶. The manor of the lord with its more advanced organization expanded in the old regions. Simultaneously it spread to the land where the soil was cleared from forest. At the main seats of the lords farms were established with their own manorial economy; they were of importance for the entire region of manorial sovereignty. These gentlemen exercised land and regional rights and even rights derived from regalia; manors developed to the fullest extent. Estates of knights who did not belong to the higher aristocracy, were established on new land. At a new place the lord of the manor did not give the entire land to the peasants; he kept a part of it for his own purposes; this land was not in the bellmong with peasant land but located at the edge of the entire village area in a large block formation. In some cases the size was limited to a few hides, but often it covered a considerable part of the terrain, one third, and even one half. The legal and economic connection between the estate and the peasant land was looser than among the manorial estates in the old regions. The peasants who settled at the new village, had a property right which left them greater independence; they agreed to pay rent to the lord but had not to render labor service for the manor. Also in jurisdictional respect they were able to secure advantages and a certain measure of autonomy. More frequently than

16) Dresden Picture Handwriting, tables 59, 98, 121, 155, 161, 171/
Explanations II 87 etc.

villages, where there was a manor, was the foundation of peasant settlements in the mountainous forest areas. Even here we can find manors during the years, when the area was cleared from forest¹⁷. It remains an open question, whether some of them which were founded at a later date, originally emerged from the free and village mayor estates.

Apart from the secular nobility the church had large estates which can be called manors. Bishops and Cathedral chapters, the big abbeys, particularly of the Benedictine Order, and the canon foundations, also other monasteries, held large estates; they had people to work on them; they gave them out for rent; there were also dispersed pieces of land, villages and single plots which belonged to the church. The higher jurisdiction was in the hands of a church bailiff. This is not always applicable to the glebe lands. The outstanding position of the pastor in the village was reflected by the pastorate tenure, even if, in economic respect, it equalled only the farm of a big peasant. But there were pastorates which had certain limited manorial rights; in some cases the pastor had even jurisdiction (not in the spiritual sense) over the church members. A special position was enjoyed by the Cistercian monasteries¹⁸. They had farms, granges which they had built up with the help of their laymen brethren and with the assistance of servants; but the peasants working on their land were under no obligation to do labor service. It happened that they expanded their land by means of purchases and confiscation of peasant land. As far as they went over to the rent system, their courts became collecting points for manorial income. The idea of the farming estate applied to their land, but not the term of the manor proper. The Cistercian farms may be considered manors to the extent as they are church property which enjoyed a privileged position in regard to size and privileges and as their abbots were considered lords. - Urban estates in the possession of the town council or of ecclesiastical institutes in the town must be counted as manors, if an estate economy prevailed and manorial authority had been granted. Individual resi-
 18) L. Enderlein, Monastery of Gruenhain (1934).

dents of the town were permitted to hold estates in front of the gates of the town or at nearby villages. Maybe they had moved from there into the town, or they had acquired them by purchase or rent. They were large farms with not purely peasant economy; they may have been estates which were equipped with manorial rights, manors in their full meaning of the word. Even as early as in the 13th century there is evidence¹⁹ for them. The urban influence on the manors and the peasant land was felt at an early period in our country.

The peculiarities and the status of the manors find their expression in the designations which have become customary. The earliest was *curia*; it was also the simplest. It describes the farm as such, in a more distinct meaning the estate, at times with the information that the lord has his residence there. This term can also mean the farm in general, also the farm of the peasant, and even a house and yard of a bourgeois gentleman in the town. The meaning of *allodium* was not clear; it changed apparently. In purely legal respect the term means originally landed property, on the soil of the march where genuine old property was hardly possible, the tenure estate (man tenure, servant tenure). In early times - in Brunswick, from where the Meissen margrave family at present of King Henry IV. has come, already in the 11th century²⁰ - it assumed a purely economic meaning as an estate which was not managed like a peasant farm. In numerous cases we find it recorded in the 14th century, when manorial estates and tenure frequently estates /are identical. In the 13th century we find the *dominicale* (dominium). This expresses definitely the manor, the property of a lord which is distinct, no matter what size it has got. General terms are also used such as *bonum feudum*, *praedium*. In regard to the German terms which can be used in the documents only during the 14th century, the most simple word 'hof' in the special

19) In Leipzig's Urban Terrain and Environment; see publ. Soc. for Hist. Leipzig. XI.

20) P.J. Meier, Research on the Beginnings of the Town of Brunswick (Brunsw. Yearbook 1912).

meaning of a manor, is not missing. The most common word is Vorwerk (adjacent land) (forwerk, forberg etc.). Originally, it probably meant the farm established in front of the fortified castle; its general use then pointed to the farms which were situated in front of the fortified manorial seat and were connected with it. It was also used for farms in possession of a lord, if it was located by itself. This term has been most widely used and has remained in use. The term sedelhof (settlement yard) must have been introduced at an early time²¹. It is frequently used in the Eastern Hartz along the Elbe-Saale line from where it spread East. Later on it was called Sattelhof in high-German (saddle farm). It is known also in Thuringia (curia residentiae). Originally the meaning is: the farm as a seat; it is not known after the saddled horse. In the Eastern part of Lower Saxony we can trace the development from the large farm in the village to the tenure estate, to the tower estate, to the manor as seat of a man who is a kind of knight²². Later on the saddle farms did not attain the same rank as the larger knightly estates of first order, both in regard to reputation in the village and economic power. In the Meissen/Saxony area they are mentioned only in rare cases; in more recent times they did not come up to the manorial estates proper. Occasionally we meet the term gesess as in Franconia and Upper Germany; seldom we find the term Ansitz. The vernacular for the estates reflects the history of origin of German colonization.

Meantime the peasant colonization of German farmers had found wide acceptance and spread; it had proved its law and property shaping force. As far as the agrarian order is concerned we have already described its significance for the history of colonization, the origin of the settlers, the zones of colonization and the methods of colonization. In this connection we have to say something

-
- 21) Tenure Book of Frederic the Rigid, p.631. - Doc.Book, Town of Leipzig I 53 for 1359. - Compare W.Waltyer, The Pol.Geogr. Bases of the Agrarian Order of the Dukedom of Magdeburg (1906), p.91 etc.
 22) H.Proeve, Village and Estate in the Dukedom of Lueneburg (1929) p.52 etc.

about their impact on the formation of peasant nature. The cultivation of the soil, the work on the farm, in the house according to peasant manners were known before. But there was no genuine peasantry as it is conceived in German thinking. For an explanation we have to look at the nature of a peasant household and the type of economy prevailing, at the farm in relation to the manor, at the right to the land. One thing has to be made clear at the beginning. When new land had to be colonized the lords of the manor took part by distributing land, by making agreements about the settlement conditions, by establishing a local order. The work at the settling place itself and in the fields was the achievement of the peasants themselves. The peasants did the job according to their characteristic tradition and mentality. Firm roots in the soil, autonomy, secured household with adequate land, incorporation into a higher order of a local community, these were the factors which make for the basis on which the peasant life developed now. The unit was the individual household of the peasant, the mansus, as the word was understood in its general meaning according to the language used in the early Middle Ages: the living and economic unit with its usable land and privileges in the field which constitute the basic condition for an orderly peasant economy. According to this meaning the term can be called ^{peasant} farm, which expresses the relationship to the manor. The household works for the family, gets the food and the entire maintenance of the family; it is based on the working capacity of those working in it. In addition to this certain services have to be rendered for the lords, for the state and for the church. Beyond this the household is forced to sell and to buy; in this respect it is integrated into the monetary economy. The genuine peasant was equipped with a hide; it could also be part of a hide. This applies to different types of terrain, where the zones of colonization have advanced in the plains, hills and forests; this applies also to

the plots of land situated in bellmong in a large quadrangular field, to compact field widths and longitudinal pieces, to the forest hides, with different sizes according to the quality of the soil and according to the custom prevailing in the particular district about which more will be said later on. The entire village area was not distributed to the farmers; parts of the area remained undistributed, meadows and brooks, forest used by everybody, also the so-called Upper Land (Oberschar, Oberlei etc.). It was not called commons here as in Upper Germany; comparing the law and the economic purpose its size is smaller; here in the East we find meadows and copse in the strips of the quadrangular fields, regularly on the longitudinal fields and forest hides.

The property privilege of the peasant which was granted in times of colonization, was favorable. There was personal freedom and the right of free settlement. The best possibility was property with a rent obligation. At the Dutch settlement at Kuehren (15 it is called purchased possession (empta possessio). As a symbol a certain amount of money is given when a contract is signed²³. It was similar to the purchase right which at other places appears with a corresponding legal effect. The character of inheritance was inherent in it. The freedom to sell was also admitted provided that the rent was not impaired. Less favorable was the legal relationship of the free inherited rent loan which had developed in the motherland from the law governing the colonization of the forest. In the Southern terrain of the mountainous areas which were cleared from forest the term for this was 'Lehen' (tenure) in the usual sense of a peasant tenure of the simple type²⁴. Here the rent and the inheritance factor were established, but the return to the owner could happen much easier, not only when there was no heir. When the land was sold the landlord enjoyed certain reservations (approval, right of pre-emption). Such favorable property rights were graduated according to the authority they granted. They formed the basis for the prosperous development of the German

peasantry in the country; they provided for a certain stability of
 23) R. Koetzschke, Source Hist. East Germ Col., no. 10. The mentioned 4
 talers cannot be considered as the full purchasing price; for
 this the amount (appr. 4 1/2 sol.) would be too little for the
 hide; comp. fee (6d) for hides in Buchwitz marsh.

of the field shapes with their not easily changeable basic structure of the division of the layout, even if a subdivision of hides could not be avoided in the case of inheritance or sale. An important change came about in the relationship between the peasants and the ruling group thanks to the inner colonization which the great epoch of German colonization had brought; the peasant land increased much more than the land of the ruling groups.

After the German peasant settlements had expanded the new peasants and the old residents were differentiated by considerable differences in their legal status. Subsequently, a noticeable balance was created, for the population in the old settlement regions a visible ascent, for the descendants of the German settlers some limitation of their privileges²⁵. The great period of colonization had not only brought German peasants into the country, it was basically favorable for the development of peasantry. It happened sometimes that ^{old} vassal land was divided up for farming through the peasants²⁶. The more general impact resulted in the stabilization of the property conditions and the disappearance of personal serfdom which lost itself excepting certain duties in regard to payment in kind (for instance in the case of death). During the 13th century nothing was said about the *Smurdes* in the Meissen region. In the Northwest they were considered equal to the peasants. An element of certain importance among the peasant population were the hospites, or *gasti* as it is said in the Meissen area later on, who have only a loose connection with their land, as the name says, although we cannot say that they can be characterized as those 'who come and go gasteswise (as guests) and have nothing of their own in the country' (*Sachsenspiegel* III, 45). Their geographical distribution was irregular. However, it must be borne in mind that the information available differs several generations²⁷. According to the contract concluded 25) E.O. Schulze, Colonization and Germanization, chap. IV. 26) Cod. dipl. Sax. II Sec. (High Convent of Meissen) I, several times, same place, IV, no. 10. - Dame, at another place p. 110. 27) Doc. B. Naumburg I no. 161 - Doc. B. Merseburg I p. 1063 etc. - R. Koetzsche, Hist. of West Slavs, p. 25 etc. 23) cont'd.: for the hide Comp. appreciation fee (6 d.) for hides in Bruchland Buchwitz (same, no. 11). 24) Sources at above place, nos. 24 and 25. - Comp. F.H. Schmid, in Streitberg festival booklet (1924), p. 331 etc. on words (also Mag. for Legal Hist. XLIV, 289 etc.).

between margrave Konrad and the bishopric of Naumburg in 1144 concerning the rights of the bailiff their tributes were laid down in the following manner: the tribute is calculated on the basis of the hides; it is 2 d perhide, that is to say half the amount to be paid by the Smurdes. They cultivated the soil, but had not so many rights as the Smurdes, because their possession of land was not so stable as the property of the Smurdes. Later on, we find guest hides besides Smurd hides; this terminology is applied to special types of hides. These hides are differentiated by the amounts to be paid, but they are a kind of legal antiquities. During the second half of the 13th century we can see a trend which is in flux at Meissen.²⁸ Peasants who belonged to this group of people, received the full right of inheritance instead of loose property' in return for the assumption of a certain rent payment and the obligation to do labor service (1268). The other way round, it can be argued, the solution became possible because of the service (servitus) and the granting of the right of freedom. It even happened that freedom was enjoyed without the granting from the lord. The localities in which they lived, have Slav names. They came probably from other parts themselves or were the descendants of foreigners of Slav origin. However, it is not excluded that the early days of colonization brought Germans to them. As far as they were named according to their settling places, as in the case of some people at Meissen, they have probably held a privileged position prior to their promotion to freedom. They had enough money to buy themselves free by paying smaller amounts. Did these 'guests' deserve this term after a right of hospitality which had put them into a special service and confidential relationship to their lord? Whatever the case may be, a personal status of freedom, a solid property right coupled with obligations, was prevalent. The deve-

28) Dame, in the above-mentioned place, p.104 and following.

lopment of the population in the old regions of colonization resulted in a certain balance of differences existing previously. The older group names disappeared; the general feeling prevailed that they were peasants (rustici) who live in the countryside and do the farming there.

In early periods there were other groups of the rural population which increased on account of the colonization; in the rural order they held a special position and had a certain significance.²⁹ The gardeners (hortulani) worked on the soil to a relatively small extent. At the hamlet they had a house with a house garden; in the field they had small pieces of cultivable land, so-called field gardens after which they were named. At places where there are manors, they find themselves doing labor service. They were also seen at the peasant farms. Gradually the gardeners managed to rise in social and economic respects. They were able to expand their property in the fields, also in the main sectors of the precinct, with hide parts so they became holders of small peasant farms. They did not acquire the full neighborhood right at the beginning; they got it later on and not in all parts of the region. Besides the peasant groups there were others; the trade of the latter, and their economic performance was directed toward specialized phases of agricultural production. Among them there were many fishermen; they lived close to each other at fishermen's villages which were located favorably for the fishing. The production of honey and wax by means of benefiting from forests, bees and by processing these materials, the vocation of the beekeeper was found only in some spots near the vast heathland, particularly in Upper Lusatia. Since the German settlers had introduced bee-keeping in the gardens, this activity became popular. Such bee-keepers had also special rights in the forest. There were even bee-keeper estates. On climatically favorable spots, along the Elbe further North wine was grown by vintagers who

29) E.O.Schulze, in the above-mentioned place, p.224 and following.
R.Koetzschke, in the above-mentioned place, p.27 and following.

took great care of this promising activity. Often they did this only as a sideline, on mostly small wine land, but also on larger estates; the vineyards were found on both mountain slopes and in plain fields. Important for the village was the existence of a mill. Often the mill belonged to the manor, but it could also be separate property³⁰. It was equipped with land. Usually, it was not a complete peasant estate, particularly with meadows along the water, and with field pieces up to the size of one hide. The trade was profitable so that the millers belonged to the most wealthy people in the village; even if they did not belong to the community of the hidesmen, they were the most reputed citizens. The right of grinding corn for people who were under the obligation to have it ground at a certain mill, was often connected with the miller's job. The villagers were expected to have their grain ground in their mill. The mill was sometimes reserved for all the villages in the environment. A not particularly respected but for the community important vocation was that of a herdsman who usually got a small piece of land at the entrance to the village or on the meadow. More respected were the shepherds. They were kept by the larger estates, frequently on special sheep-farms or adjacent farms against wages or as autonomous economic units; this custom increased toward the end of the Middle Ages when the possibility of selling wool became wider on account of increasing cloth production in the towns of Saxony. We have also to mention the servants who were found at the villages already in the Middle Ages³¹. The servants changed their residence quite often; they did work on the farm against wages, on the basis of a labor contract; they worked all the year round but also during special emergency work in connection with the harvest and for special cultivation. Servants and maids were

30) A. Daumann, The Mill Trade in Saxony from the 11th to the 19th century (Diss. Leipzig 1934). - H. Wiemann, Contributions on the History of Mill Law, described by the examples of the mills in the domain of Grimmitschau from the 14th to the 17th centuries (Mag. of the Savigny Foundation for the Hist. of Law, Germ Sec. 66, 1948, p. 477 and following).

31) R. Wuttke, Regulations for Servants and Compulsory Service for Servants in Saxony (1893).

mostly employed on the manors on a regular basis with the wages differing according to the work performed. We find the servants also on the peasant farms. - Among the trades the blacksmith was indispensable. Because of the danger of fire he had his workshop usually at the edge of the village, on the soil of the estate or the community; he had only small pieces of land or none at all. Other trades came to the village: carpenters, wheelwrights, cartwrights and weavers. They mostly lived on a small piece of land with their house with a small house garden in the back, and maybe also a small piece of meadow so that they belonged to the group of house occupants which gradually increased more and more. The mining population can also be included into the rural population; these people lived at the village and went into the mountains to dig for ore, silver and tin besides working on a forest hide or on single pieces of land. This was particularly true for the beginning, when new ore deposits had been found; As soon as the talk had made the rounds and a greater number of workers was attracted who were willing to dig, the development of a new mining place was a matter of a relatively short time.

The economic-social groups were manifold in the countryside; in many instances they overlapped; but the working peasants united in a vocational group which took its place besides the nobility and the bourgeoisie; it became the bearing basis for the organization of the entire state.

In the late Middle Ages the formation of further manorial estates made additional progress. The post-colonial period in the Netherlands and in the mountainous regions did not do much to further their development. But numerous adjacent manors or farms are established to benefit from economic advantages (Oberwartha for the manors near Meissen)³². An important factor / was the most significant phenomenon in the history of those generations: the threatening loss of rural population, a creeping agrarian crisis and the desertion of villages and fields.³³ They were certainly affected

³²) G. Dame, in the above-mentioned place, p.16 and following (with field map).

³³) See above p.81 and following.

by this trend. The number of available workers decreased considerably. Usable land in the terrain remained uncultivated. It was open to acquisition. The sale of agricultural products came to a standstill, if we except some special cultivations such as the wine. The question rises which consequences this development had for the size of the estates and for the manorial farming. In the old regions the knightly estates^{are closer} and the desertions are more numerous. Here the described development was more felt than in the mountainous areas. As a result of the desertions the estates did not increase to a great extent. A few deserted fields were transformed into adjacent land connected with the estates (Auenhain, Meusdorf, Kaeferhain near Groitzsch and others). Fallow land may have been taken over as pasture land by the estates; later on, they may have kept this land. But the compact deserted fields remained; sometimes an entire part of the terrain was deserted. At times the peasants made use of it. A basic reform was not put into practice. More noteworthy is the progress made by the estates in regard to the manorial constitution. A thorough organization of the regional offices of the sovereign decreed an order for the castle or official adjacent land; The application of the manorial and legal rights of the sovereign in his jurisdictional area was combined with the economic performance of the adjacent land in the bailiff's office (at the domain office)³⁴. The organization of the regional state became dangerously loose which raised the legal position of the manors of the nobility. Economic need caused by the numerous feuds and the reduced profitability of the mines, gave the princes enough reason to distribute part of their manorial rights or legal authority by selling them to men of their counsel and other followers, also to financially powerful holders of fortunes in the towns; this was done temporarily against security but also for inheritance and the acquisition of new property for the purchaser. There is a considerable number of villages the jurisdiction of which came into

³⁴) Instructive Example: Alex. Guendel, State Government and Financial Administration in the District of Groitzsch-Pegau (1911).

the hands of noblemen; the same took place with manorial rights and other privileges. The manor of the nobility became the center of a jurisdiction, a feudality and inherited property. In some cases it acquired also authority which had come from some section of the state administration. Here a factor of power put itself between the state and the peasantry. In the last century of the Middle Ages these conditions are clearly seen in the constitutional status of the estates and in their solidity as well as their distribution. The year which was characteristic for this epoch was 1438, when the first diet was convoked; here all the feudal groups were represented from the Meissen/Saxonian areas. In the reports from the district offices and in other records of that time we can find exact and detailed descriptions of these conditions; they give us a good general picture of the situation. It is characteristic that around 1460 (in Thuringia already in 1416) the term 'Rittergut' (knightly estate) appears in official verbage³⁵. This does not exclude the possibility that the term may have been used prior to this. Its meaning is the estates which is earned with knightly horses; the estate has a certain position in the state and in the army; its validity in regard to law and economy is inherent in the mentioned term. The constitutional and economic characteristics of the manor have fully matured.

The favorable property rights on peasant farms which came to the fore during the time of colonization, continue to exist in their main characteristics. At some localities the term 'Erbe' (inheritance) was used for tenure. Besides the right of secure landed property more flexible types of usufruct privileges were applied which had both their advantages and disadvantages for the patron and the receiver. In a way they encouraged the progress made in the cultivation of the soil. The main type was the tenure with its numerous variations³⁶. The tenure was a contract rela-

35) E.O.Schulze, in the above-mentioned place, p.345; Tenure Book of Frederic the Rigid., p.213, footnote 6.
36) E.O.Schulze, p.214 and following.

tionship which was limited in regard to time, mostly to a few years; the estate or land was given to the tenant by the owner for the purpose of being cultivated under the conditions which were laid down. The contract could be extended under the same or under different conditions. A contract for lifetime was possible; there have even been contracts which covered several people who followed each other. The type of service required was similar to that connected with the lang rent; usually, it had more variations; mostly payments had to be made in kind. Services were often agreed upon. If the tenure became customary and if it was inherited, an inherited tenure relationship could be established at the beginning when the contract was concluded. In the Meissen/Saxonian area this type of contract was more used among the peasant estates than the short-term contracts. Since the end of the 13th century, more frequently since the 14th century, this type of contract is found on the ecclesiastical estates. It took the so-called 'emphyteuse' of the Roman law as a model; in spite of this foreign legal term it did not contain the rigid regulations of the juridical Roman model. Such inheritance tenure, as the Germans put it, is based on an agreement between the owner and the tenant. The use of an estate or piece of land was granted in return for the payment of an agreed amount of rent. But the inheritance, the authority to sell and to mortgage was limited: the inhibition of a partition of the estate, approval of a sale by the owner, confiscation, if the payments are in arrears (after three years) or if the stock of the estate is diminished. Such inheritance tenure is very similar to the right of inheritance rent estates; often it is not possible to distinguish the two. It could happen that the tenure had an unfavorable influence upon the legal custom among the inherited rent estates which had been granted formerly; the authority of the lord of the manor was increased. Favorable was the unlimited use which could be made of vast surfaces in the terrain, or special cultivation on sideland. The tenure could result in both mergers of field parts and the formation of separated pieces and continuing sub-

divisions into smaller lots. Investigations about the extent to which this development took place, are not available. It cannot be assumed that the traditional forms were noticeably changed by the more flexible tenure.

Economic momentums caused an initiative for noticeable changes in the relationship between the manor and the peasants belonging to it, and even to a disparity. The development lead to a production of agricultural goods which were more easily sold on the markets in the towns than before. The general economic trend favored the transportation of agricultural goods over long distances; this applied also to grain and wool and some of the cattle products and the products from the forest. Formerly the pursuits of the estate were mainly centered around the satisfaction of the needs of the estate itself. Now it started to produce for the market; by increasing its income the nobility was in a better competitive position compared with the position of the upper class of the bourgeoisie. The estate area had to be expanded and the number of workers had to be increased. There was little monetary capital. Partnerships in mining and in the ore trade did not procure sufficient money. The result was that some of the peasant land was confiscated by the manors; this was not necessarily done with illegal means; the peasant land was confiscated and kept, when it came back to the estate instead of being given out again, or the rights of the lord were more strictly enforced, or the land was bought up³⁷. Such procedure kept in bounds in Saxony. The reason is that there was less opportunity to resort to the described procedures, because the settlements were dense, the village areas were small and the legal safety and protection of the peasants was definitely established. Moreover the attraction did not appear to have been particularly great, because the nearby towns did not have a great population and it was difficult to use the traffic routes leading to the world trade routes and to the sea. An essential factor was that the

37) E.O. Schulze, p.355 and following. - So far individual cases which were found on the field maps, are very rare. Acquisition of previously peasant land as knightly estate at Rabenstein near Chemnitz, in Upper Lusatia at Rennersdorf near Herrnhut, at Leuba etc.

the Saxonian lords of the manor engaged in a policy of peasant protection already during the prosperity of the Period of Reformation. They opposed the confiscation of peasant land; at least they reduced the attraction because the legal privileges of the knightly manor, particularly the tax-exemption, were not given to the newly acquired peasant land.

The violent uprising of the peasants of Central Germany which intended to shake off the pressure of the lords was partly influenced by religious socialism; during the peasants' war^{in 1525} it spread from Thuringia and Franconia to^{West-}Saxony; it aimed at the liberation from tributes and services; the 'good old rights' were requested in a passionate way. The 'twelve articles of all the peasants and tenants' requested this. The revolt was quickly beaten down in Saxony. After this heavy blow a certain stabilization and clarification of rural conditions developed in the course of the period of Reformation; this applied to the relationship between the manor and the peasant land; conditions appeared to be stabilized for a generation or so. In social respect the pressure^{on the peasants} increased.

38. In the Saxonian state, under Duke George, more so under Elector Moritz and his successor Gus, the manorial order became more solid in the hands of the sovereign authority of the state and the representatives who put the instructions into practice. The regime was conscious of its responsibility and put itself above the manors and the peasant land. However, it was different with the feudal state in which there was a group of people who were entitled to take part in the government. At the diets itself the peasant representatives were not admitted to the discussions. The peasants were represented by the holder of the estates. The political power connected with this was in the hands of the knightly nobility. The power unit of the lower authorities, the gentlemen of the inheritance, tenures and courts, kept closely together both inside and outside; they resembled a small state

38) W. Goerlitz, State and Feudal Groups under the Dukes Albrecht and George, 1485 to 1539 (1928); p. 112 and following: knightly and peasant estates. - F. J. Haun, Peasant and Lord of the Manor in Saxony (Electorate) (1892). - C. Dame, Development of the Economy, p. 131 and following.

within a greater state. Patrimonial jurisdiction took shape in the various instances; the handling of the local police as a sideline of jurisdiction, became more diversified and more thorough³⁹. There was an important difference between the position of the offices and the rural estates. The manors of the lords who were in direct connection with the sovereign and the villages belonging to them, were not under the administration. These gentlemen were not under the jurisdiction of the local courts. They themselves exercised jurisdiction towards their subjects to the extent which was granted to them. Often they had to apply regulations which pertained to the higher jurisdiction, often those pertaining to the lower jurisdiction. They were permitted to have court proceedings of their own. They had also other rights e.g. the assessment of the regional tax (state tax), the so-called 'Folge' (succession), the induction of rural soldiers. The residents under the knights, however, remained with their estates and land belonging to them within the sphere of a princely office. It is true, they, in turn, acquired jurisdiction over their tenants, but only to a small extent (lower jurisdiction). In most cases they were not granted the administrative authority which the other lords of the estates had received who were in direct contact with the princely offices.

The peasants were integrated into the setup of the manorial orders in the state. However, the princely state authority in Saxony adhered to a certain policy of protection of the peasant. This was shown especially by the favorable formulation of property law concerning the peasant farm. The great legislation of Elector Gus, the constitutions of 1572, brought a circumspect codification, a combination and the necessary balance between the traditional rights handed down under the influence of the Roman law (imperial law) with the common Saxonian law; This resulted in a simplification and greater security in the handling³⁹ W. Goerlitz, in the above-mentioned place, p. 161 and following: Jurisdiction. - Chr. G. Wabst, Hist. News on Elec. Sax. Const. Higher and Lower Jurisdiction.. (1732). - E. O. Schulze, in the above-mentioned place, p. 400 and following: Schriftsassen and Amtssassen, same place; Exc. VI, p. 413 and following. - The Area Div. acc. to Jurisdiction is described by Al. Guendel for Pegau in the 16th century, with map (see above footnote 34.).

of jurisdiction in Saxony⁴⁰. The personal freedom of the peasant was fully respected in Saxony. The obligation to do labor service which was a remnant of serfdom, belonged to the legal antiquities; it was one of the burdens connected with the estate. Free movements were not impaired. A leaving permit was required only after 1543, and an influence of the court was possible. The rights on peasant land were legally formulated and laid down. A difference is made only between two types of land which is held by peasants: simple rent land (*bona censitia*) and the inheritable rent land (*bona emphyteutica*). The holder of a simple rent land fully owns the land (*dominium directum* and *dominium utile*). In the case of the inheritable rent land the property is divided; The higher type of ownership is reserved to the receiver of the rent (*dominium directum*). The right to use the land is given to the rent paying peasant (*dominium utile*). If the rent is not paid according to the fixed scale, the rent creditor is entitled (in the case of the simple rent land) to take up proceedings at court. The rent paying peasant loses his land. Tenure goods may have to be paid in the case of both types of land. It has to be paid according to a fixed but mostly moderate scale (as partial shilling; often 1/20 that is 5%, besides a writing fee). Detailed regulations provide for more security by having the expectation speak in favor of the better right. An estate can be kept as an emphyteutical estate only if it had been granted through a tenure letter expressly stating the reservation made in regard to the superior ownership, or if an uncultivated estate was granted as an inheritable piece of land in return for a rent and a tenure letter was made out. If the reserved higher ownership is not expressly stated in writing the rent man is considered owner. The conclusion of contracts on a free tenure was always possible. It could also be done, if smaller pieces were acquired in addition to the farm or estate to be used for cultivation. A frequently applied type of tenure

40) Th. Schletter, The Constitutions of Elector Gus of Saxony of 1572 (1857). - Haubold, Private Law, par. 16, par. 170 f and following; about the rights of the peasant on their land see par. 458 and following.

- which was customary more in the case of a tenure of manorial property than of peasant land - was the partial cultivation in return for the delivery of the half or of one third of the harvest (semitenure, third-tenure). More customary was the contract on a fixed rent. In the case of leaseholds the land was given to a leaseman on a purely personal basis to be used in return for certain tributes or services; however, it was revocable. As soon as the performance slackened, the land would come back to the owner. The land fell back after the death of the leaseholder or after the leaseholder had left the area. The latter was done only, if the contract provided that a guarantor has to be named. Among the peasant land there has been very little of such lease land in Saxony; later on, this system was entirely lost. A few individual pieces of land, particularly meadows or forest pieces, so-called lease spots, were given out according to the lease law, that is to say for the purpose of side income to provide an opportunity to expand land which was already under tillage. In Upper Lusatia the situation was different. Here the spreading of the lease system resulted in a much more unfavorable position of the rural population (peasants) in both personal and legal respects. A reduction of peasant property in the terrain was not impossible, but it was made difficult. The Saxonian peasants enjoyed such a favorable right on the land that they were better off than peasants in other German states; they kept their favorable position for a long time.

The division of the economic-social groups of the rural population became much clearer⁴¹. The full peasants were at the top; they owned hides; they were called 'Pferdner' or 'Anspanner' (horsemen), because they were able to provide draught-animals; they were under an obligation to provide such services for the state authorities and its manorial lords and gentlemen of the courts. They were also obliged to help other residents of the vil-

41) O. Hoetzsch, The Economic and Social Structure particularly of the Rural Population of the Electorate of Saxony (1900). - Rud. Schmidt, The Offices of the Electorate of Saxony in the Region of the Lower Mulden Valley from the 16th to the 18th centuries (1913).

lage who had no draught-animals, when they cultivated their land. They received a remuneration for this from these people. Among the group of the gardeners the big gardeners with some property on the hide land are distinguished from the small gardeners who held only small field gardens (one could call them field gardeners). Officially, there are four gardeners for each hide, but such a relation did not always exist in actual practice. Sometimes mention is made of the tenants ('Hintersiedler', 'Hintersattler') to whom the holders of parts of the hides belong such as gardeners, that is to say small farmers. They have no neighborhood rights. Since the Reformation the group of the house occupants has greatly increased, while the trades grew in Saxony, particularly the house industry. Eight house occupants were counted for each hide. Then there were the lodgers of house tenants. They were peasant who had retired, younger family members or others who lived in the house and paid rent for it; they had a range of their own; they were tradesmen and in increasing numbers also wage earners.

Now the holders of manors were prevented from expanding their land by way of confiscation of peasant land. To increase their profits they had the possibility to augment the work performance of the people laboring for them. This was desirable because these workers were cheaper than the hiring of free servants in return for a wage which was agreed upon, or at the wage rates which were established by state law⁴². The labor service which came from the manorial tradition was not considered a factor which could be increased, if the performance was laid down in the contract concluded between the lords and the peasants or if it was laid down in the rent-roll. Only when the land fell back to the owner or when it was granted this was possible, unless local law was against it. The courts had two possibilities. By authority of public law services, draught-animals and small jobs could be required. In his administration the state sovereign gave an example for this among his princely offices. It was quickly grasped by the lords of the manor and

42) J. Falke, *Elector Gus in Economic Respects* (1868). - R. Wuttke, *Orders affecting the Servants and Compulsory Services to be rendered by the Servants* (1893). - C. Dame, in the above-mentioned place, p. 197 and following.

imitated. New duties of personal nature were imposed on the subjects. They were not required by the holders of peasant estates themselves but from the members of their families. The children of the subjects were hired before they reached the age in which they would be required to do the work (State Order of 1612). It was the offer to do service on the manor before a contract was concluded with another party. Beyond this the trend was aiming at the introduction of a more or less obligatory labor service for servants for a certain time, usually for two years. From time to time the lords managed to enforce such customs in virtue of their reputation. But such labor service was not incorporated into the general state law. Up to the period of the Thirty Years' War the development of rural conditions continued without a breach.

The deep cut which the emergency of the great war had made into all spheres of life, and the difficulties of the post-war years did not result in a basic change of the rural order. Much land was devastated, but the manors and the property of the peasants could be preserved; the few parts which were devastated were gradually rebuilt and recultivated. In Saxony the delicate problem of the creeping debt was solved through a partial repayment of the debts ordered by the state and through the remission of unpaid interest; this was done upon the advice given by important lawyers (B. Carpzow at Leipzig). The effect was that there was no change of property as a result of compulsory sales and buying up⁴³, as it had been the case in Brandenburg. The old families were fortunate in surviving. The interdependence of manor and peasant estate remained. Only few pieces of peasant land were confiscated from the war-devastated areas. The lack of capital, which was available for investment, and of available manpower and the high wage rates of the free servants and even the tax regulations of the state limited the expansion of the manorial system. Compared to the knightly estates in the German East the

43) Eb. Gothein, The German Credits and the Thirty Years' War (1893).

manors in Saxony remained comparatively small; this is clearly seen on the village terrain. Where a family of the nobility desired to expand its property, it was done by means of increasing the number of estates. By virtue of its then preponderant status the knights demanded more compulsory labor service for the servants. Heavy conflicts developed on this. The urban bourgeoisie opposed a stronger bondage of the rural population. The lawyers at the Universities of Leipzig and Wittenberg declared in great publications that serfdom in Saxony is unheard and that there should not be such a thing at all. Attempts were made to avoid what would have been considered serfdom. The compulsory service was regulated for the entire state by the Order For Servants/⁽¹⁶⁵¹⁾decreed on the basis of the resolution taken by the Diet; at the same time a special decree regulated the daily wage; then a police order was issued in 1661 (The so-called 'Decisions')⁴⁴. A compulsory service for servants' children for two years became state law. Under Gus the Strong it was confirmed by the 'new' servants' order' of 1735; however, there was a certain qualification in the wording according to which the lord of the manor may hire as many servants as he really needs to keep his household going. All this was a decision that the agrarian constitution remained in existence in Saxony; this constitution was characterized as the Central German Land Domination: the peasant had numerous obligations in regard to the lords of the manor, the tenure and the court. But the peasant was not an accessory to the manor. An estate economy prevailed on the manor; the tributes had to be paid to the manor; services had to be rendered for the manor on the basis of judicial law, but there was no lack of personal freedom, and there was no serfdom. The property right of the peasant was usually a property or a right similar to property. The jurisdiction had not lost its state origin and its political character.

44) Cod. Aug. I, p. 1561 and following. - R. Wuttke, in the above-mentioned place, p. 120; Booklets of the universities of Leipzig and Wittenberg, 1661: The Peasantry is the Fundament of the other Feudal Groups.

The agrarian order which had become predominant in Upper Lusatia, was quite different: it was the domination of the estate in the East, as the scientists put it⁴⁵. It was influenced by the long political connection with Bohemia where in 1500 regulations in the sense of the manorial force had been decreed. This influence spread to Upper Lusatia; it influenced the Wend speaking population and the peasants in the villages with the German field layout and German local order; of course, there was some resistance and attempted defense, more in the villages of the knights than at the council villages. This was the situation, when in 1635 the country came to the Electorate of Saxony. Subsequently the Saxonian government in Dresden was anxious to take a superior attitude towards the holders of the estates and towards the peasants and to handle the legal protection in an unbiassed manner. However, it did not succeed to prevail completely. The status of the lower officials on the estates who were resident in the region itself and who were supported by the respect of the state constitution which was confirmed to them, and by their feudal privileges, proved to be stronger. Serfdom in the strict sense of the term was the decisive factor for the development of the relationship between the estates and the peasants. It is true, the bondmen were considered free; it was expressly stated that they would not be in bond, they would physically not belong to the holder of the estate. But in actual practice their personal and legal status was very limited. They had to obey the estate of the lord; they had to cultivate certain land; they were subjected to his authority and his court. The subjects were not permitted to leave the locality to settle at another place to do farming, to engage in a trade or to marry, at least not outside the sphere of the estate. It was permissible only with a leaving certificate (with a fee) and, consequently, dependent upon the will of the lord. A further obstacle was the more rigid

45) Herm.Knothe, The Status of the Subjects of the Estates in Upper Lusatia (1885), p.78 and following.-W.v.Boetticher, Hist.Upper Lus.Nobility and its Estates, 1635-1815 (1912-23).

compulsory labor service for the servants which could be requested for several years. The servants were inspected for purposes of selection; this was not permissible in Saxony. More favorable property regulations did not lack in Upper Lusatia entirely (inheritable rent land, free estate, tenure), particularly not in the formerly German regions. The most common type of condition was the leasehold relationship: the land was given to the peasant only for use; the lord, the owner, could take it back without proceedings at court. Against the will of the subject the holder of the estate could buy the land; on the other hand he could force the subject to accept a position in which he had to do compulsory labor service. These manifold rights were paralleled by the necessity for the lord of the estate to help maintain the buildings and the defense wall; he was also obligated to give help in a case of emergency; there were also a few advantages from which the peasants could benefit (wood collecting in the forest, the keeping of pasture). The manorial pressure on the peasants increased, because in Upper Lusatia the expansion of the knightly estate was more common than in Saxony. Land which had been devastated in the war, was used for such purposes as the distribution to small farmers; it was not given to full peasants; peasant land was also confiscated without diminishing the burdens lying on the peasants. The pressure did not increase to the same extent as in the more distant Eastern parts. A comparison shows that the region between Saale and Goerlitz Neisse is a transitory region in the agrarian geography of Germany.

During the last generation of the 18th century the interior policy of Saxony was determined by the tendency to raise the standard of agriculture after a moderate mercantilism had prevailed. No basic change was made in the agrarian order. The areal relation of the manor towards the peasant hardly changed at all. The property rights of the peasants preserved their favorable status in Saxony. Economic factors pointed toward a new future. Advantages and disadvantages developed for both the holders of

estates and peasant land⁴⁶. The stronger development of the trades resulted in a greater demand for agricultural products, a greater need and in higher prices. Both the large estates who were frequently already in the hands of the bourgeoisie, and the peasants had their profit. The sale of land for purposes of house construction or the leasing for living purposes resulted in new income. The interspersal of agriculture with industrial enterprises even in the countryside, particularly the production of cotton at and around Chemnitz and mining and forging which came up again here and there, deprived agriculture from a great deal of manpower; it pressed the service rendered by the servants and the cost of agricultural production. Improvements in plant cultivation and in animal breeding were tested more on the estates than on the peasant farms. The expanding use of fallow land did not directly limited the existing estate areal, but threatened to reduce the available area for pasture. The apple of discord was the common pasture. Special cultures such as fruit growing, vegetable gardening and vineyards, also poultry breeding, brought the peasant rich profits which were greater than those obtained on the large estates. These were only beginnings of a future agrarian reform. Its execution was reserved to the next century. A favorable factor is that during this period which turned the minds toward a reform - as we have seen in the chapter about the field maps - the layout of the large estates with the land belonging to them as well as the peasant land at the villages and hamlets is clearly seen as far as the space and the location are concerned, thanks to the increasing number of highly informative notes and records, particularly in the field books and the often quite exact graphic presentations of numerous fields in the map picture. Desirable knowledge can be gained from this welcome source material in the description of the basic shapes of the settlement and terrain layouts.

c) Land-Taxes, the Saxonian Peasant Liberation

A fundamental fact in the history of agriculture is the amount and manifoldness of the payments to be made. The knowledge of these payments is of greatest importance for the political history, for the history of real estate law and the situation of the rural population; it will also open up the understanding of the terrain, because the payments and obligations are adapted to the distribution of the land. A survey over the taxation in Saxony is intended here not only to deal with the taxes as such but as a means to ascertain data on the history of the colonization.¹ We follow the development on the basis of the legal cause for their imposition.

At first there are the income types and services which are imposed by the state; Under the old legal and sociological order a clear separation from payments to the manorial and jurisdictional sovereignty is not possible. It is not known in detail, how such payments were customary in the loose setup of the Slav tribes which were rather small, excepting the obligation to work on the erection of the castle walls. The performances which are known to us date back to the time after the German occupation and the establishment of the marches in the Sorbic land. Emperor Otto I. decreed regulations concerning the tithe which had to be levied by the margraves; it was a secular King's tithe such as we find it also west of the Saale². After the foundation of the bishopric of Meissen it was decreed that one tenth of it should be given to the high church (971). It is not ascertained, whether a similar rule was set up in the other bishoprics of Merseburg and Zeitz. This tithe had to be paid from the harvest, from the cattle, from forest products, from clothing, from toll and from a sales tax. The royal tithe and one tithe as the profit made on account of pig feeding, are mentioned, when special grants are made according to castle wards. Clearer are the services which

1) E.O. Schulze, Colonization. Par.V (p.237 and following): Payments, tributes and services of the peasants. - Frdr.Luetge, The Central German Land Administration (1934), p.39 and following.

are imposed upon the Slav and early German population on the basis of the castle ward order³. The castle wards were under the burgraves; they were incorporated into the burgrave districts. At first it was the castle: Work for the construction and the maintenance of the castle buildings, then work for bridge and road construction. Very probable is the rendering of services for the farm yard, the adjacent land in front of the castle without which the maintenance of the economy would not have been possible. Then we have to mention the delivery of fruit, grain and oats to feed the men and their horses and to form a stock. The grain had to be poured; it was, therefore, called 'Schuettkorn'. This is confirmed by the later payment in grain (at first in 1154 in the document of Kuehren) which is called sip or zip. It is a Slav term which means 'to pour'; it echoes in the 'Sipmass' (1/4 bushel) in West Saxonian areas (compare the term wozop use in the Magdeburg region, and ossep in Bohemia). From later information (12th century) we can see that the collection was made according to stacks in the small districts; all residents of these small districts had to deliver in common. But it was possible to distribute the payments according to each village. It was based on the land now. In the jurisdictional districts of Eisfeld-Markranstaedt and Horburg on Elster the eldest in the village (the supanes) collected. In the tenure book of 1349 it is mentioned as being paid for the entire district of Grimma⁴. Most frequently it is mentioned in the great register of 1378 for various localities, particularly in the district of Leipzig⁵. The share is not computed in connection with individual property. More clearly explained are the taxes which have to be paid by the individuals for themselves and for their land property which is measured according to hides in the official records and terriers of the 16th century. Here they appear as 'Wachkorn' for soldiers often also called Wachweizen (wheat) and Wachhafer (oats) the ratio of the two types of grain is measured in a different manner according to the customs prevailing in the various districts (probably 3) E.O. Schulze, in the above-mentioned place; see also par. VI: Castle Ward Order. Comp. above p. 116 and following.

of burgrave origin); the amount is the same, but the ratio is 1 : 2.) Whether the mentioned 'Wachgeld' (payment for guard duty) has come from a change of the term or meant a relief from guard duty, is not clear. In some respect these data can be used in the study of the history of the fields. As the manors have never been under an obligation to pay grain to the castle or the army, it is possible for us to separate the manors from the peasant land which is bound to pay. If the uniform rate is known, we may succeed in determining the number of hides, and in most favorable cases the location of the farmyards in smaller settlements of the old regions. The amount of the tax in relation to the profit made from the soil, cannot be estimated. In comparison with other deliveries it appears to be quite small. At the Altenburg district we find a tribute to the castle (grain). It exceeded the mentioned 'Sip und Wachkorn' amounts in regard to both quantity and distribution; they were delivered according to bushels of rye and oats; it was paid in wheat and must have been a tribute which was due to the office of the burgrave.

These land taxes based on the castle order were complemented, like in other princely regions, by the 'Bede' (tribute to the army, to help cover the needs of the state (precaria, high-German Bete). In the 12th century, when the Meissen/Thuringian sovereignty was formed, it gets known for the first time; during that period the German colonization was already in full swing. Its payments are not limited to the old regions; it covers also the newly established villages. It can be clearly recognized in the 13th century. A survey is provided by the recordings made in the 14th century, particularly in the great register of the Meissen margraves of 1378⁶.

4) Doc.B. for Merseburg I, 428 (1277); compare above p. 121 - Tenure Book of 1349, VI 3; as precaria). 5) Registrum dom. march. Miss. 1378, I (1933), p. 163 and following: places which mention zcipkorn; places, where Wachkorn is delivered. Evidence in the terriers of the 16th century. - O. Trautmann, Colonization of the Dresden Area, p. 46 and following. 6) Register of 1378; with appendix: Lists of Bete in various districts since 1314, part. 1334/6. - Records of places which are under taxation; official terriers of the 16th and 17th centuries.

Originally, the amount of the tribute was fixed separately for each case; but soon the mentioned defense tax was based on the land and made a permanent tribute. Besides the 'urban annual rent' it appears as the rural tax which was mainly levied from peasants working on their land. It was also received from glebe land, from the religious foundations and the monasteries, but the knightly estates did not pay this type of tribute, because their holders rendered the service personally. The 'Rede' was paid partly in money, partly in grain. It was due twice a year: in spring it was called 'Waibede' (Walpurgis), but it was also levied at Easter, and in fall at Michaelmas; the tax collected in fall was double the amount of the tax levied in spring. Dates of delivery are not fixed for the grain, mostly rye and oats which are calculated according to 'shock' or sheaf but also according to bushels. It appears that the harvest time was the determining time factor. The basis for calculating the tax was the marca, the income in mark derived from the land, from the hide tax⁷. At the beginning the amount of 'Rede' to be paid varies according to a rate determined by the mark. Later on, a permanent fixed amount was established, a kind of 'Gulde' or rent. The amounts which are recorded in the registers do not refer to the performance of all holders of village hides or other land at the locality. Only the holders of land are included ^{for} which the defense tax has to be paid. The sale of the tax, the tenure or mortgage and the desertion were quite common phenomena. Conclusions can hardly be made from the entries to the land and the property conditions in the village terrain; if there are very favorable cases and we want to draw conclusions, then we have to let utmost care prevail. - Besides the 'Rede' we find other tributes recorded in the registers which had to be paid regularly to the authorities, that is to say to the sovereign; they were introduced besides and after the defense contribution, but they can also be of older origin. At the district of Leipzig fodder grain was levied, apparently for the horses of

7) At the Thuringian district of Buttelsaedt, where individual cases are entered (1333), the uniform rate was 1/2 mr. per hide.

of mounted men; at the district of Rochlitz, and in some cases also near Dresden, we find the sickle-sheaf (sichelung, because the grain was cut with a sickle); it was a kind of tithe. The deliveries were augmented in areas where state forests was made arable on account of the granting of privileges or land for cultivation. In some districts we find forest grain or pasture oats; the dog oats were intended for the dogs. The seldom mentioned 'Artheller' were probably a substitute for services on the land. - Another term for 'Rede' is 'Geschoss'. This type of tax has been in use for a longer time and can still be found in the records of the 16th century. As we have seen in the case of the tributes originating from the castle ward orders the 'Geschoss' becomes clearly explained only in those records; the totals are not given; the data refers to the distribution among individual tax-payers and their land going down to small split pieces of land. The compilation of these tributes together with other taxes can be useful for the ascertainment of various data relating to the history of topography. However, these tributes are recognizable only for the state offices and their extensions; they do not relate to the peasant land of the selected low-rank authorities, of the church and the knightly nobility.

A third period in the build-up of the tax system of the state started with the foundation of the Meissen-Saxonian regional state, the Electorate of Saxony. Funds had to be procured by means of imposing and levying taxes; the princes made an agreement about this with the feudal groups of the state⁸. Besides the direct subjects of the princes the subjects of the nobility were also under the obligation to pay taxes. The bishops reserved the right to approve the levying of taxes in each case. The first of such type of tax was approved at the diet of 1438. It was put on the consumption of drinks, wine and beer; therefore, it was no tax on the land. This remained so, but in 1502 this drinking tax was given a firmer structure. The registers which were put up for this purpose, do not give direct information as to the property of land. The tax-payers are entered together with the members of their household. Consequently, some information can be obtained on the local population. The same is true of the regi-

sters which were put up for the Turk tax (1529/30); here the land was registered. A change of the state tax was brought about in Saxony Elector Moritz in 1546, immediately after the foundation of the Electorate of Saxony of the Albertine line and the new administrative order in the local districts. The regulations came back to the basic idea of the defense tributes in the past, and the land and shock tax was introduced, a kind of mixed property-tax on mobile and immobile property which was computed according to threescores of Groschen (according to new threescores of 60 Groschen each). The approval by the feudal groups was given always according to penny quotas, that is to say according to money which had to be paid at different dates of the year. This land and threescore tax could easily become a tax on land, although it did not become separated from the tax for cash property and wages. As far as there was land property, the tax was on the house, the land, the meadow and other plots of land; the assessment was made among the peasants according to the hide measure (Plushides, full hides, partial hides). Included was also land which had not become a hide, single pieces of land, particularly when the holders were gardeners and house owners. The putting up of local registers and the levying was a competency of the offices for the jurisdictional village districts. It was done by the higher official for the sphere of the manors, the gentlemen who got instructions directly from the state and the residents of the district it was done by the knightly gentlemen themselves. This did not strengthen the reliability; on the other hand no undue pressure was exerted on the peasants. The amount of tribute to be paid was moderate. In 1561 when the main cadastre was introduced, also in 1570 and the following years, 3 pennies^{each} were levied at two dates, on Sunday after Whitsunday and on St. Andrew's Day; that is to say 6 pennies altogether; they were levied from the threescore Groschen 1/120 (hardly 1%

8) v. Roemer, State Law II p. 561 and following; III, p. 200. for individual regulations see Cod. Aug. I and continuation. - R. Wuttke, Introduction of the Land Excise Tax, p. 4 and following. - O. Hoetzsch, The economic and social grouping of the population. p. 6 and following.

of the assessed property; in 1576 and the following years it was only 4 pennies. The ratio between actual income and the tax amount is not ascertained. Different amounts were approved by the diets which followed; since 1602 the tax gradually increased. Changes in the number of threescores were taken into account in the local registers. Only the cadastre of 1628 acquired permanent significance for the entire state territory. The tax was general for the whole state. But the knightly estates which were earned with knightly horses were tax-exempt as in the case of the defense tribute. On the other hand the knights had to bear other burdens. The holders of such estates had to appear personally with their armed battle horse, when they were called; from time to time the knights approved the so-called donations the amount of which was fixed in each case separately according to the number of horses entered into the knightly rolls. The pastoral tenures and other ecclesiastical land was exempt from the threescore tax; monasteries were only exempted, if knightly services were rendered, which was possible after the confiscation of monastic land for secular purposes, or when income was intended for the maintenance of state or princely schools. The time of the great war resulted in new needs for state purposes: for the conduct of war, contributions, loss in case of an economic decline. The assessment of the threescore tax was not changed, but the penny quotas increased greatly (in 1628 22 pennies). Attempts were made to cover additional needs with the land excise tax (1641) which was a consumption tax and remained so; it was not changed into a land tax. But a head and trade tax was added which was levied according to monthly amounts; later on it was collected at the ember days and called ember tax.

In Upper Lusatia the regulation of state taxes on the land showed noteworthy deviations⁹; unfortunately they can hardly be

9) v. Roemer, State Law, II, p. 637 and following. - Compare R. Lehmann, History of the Margraviate of Lower Lusatia (1937), p. 205 and following, 272 and following.

ascertained; the available documents do not give as many valuable data as we find them in the records of the Meissen/Saxonian area. The castle order had its validity in the same manner as in the more Western marches. Labor service for the construction of the castles and military service done under Margrave Konrad (1144). When the kings of Bohemia ruled the country, and the German colonization expanded at the same time, a new type of tax was introduced: perhaps it can be compared with the 'Bede' (military tax) in the Meissen region. One could also think of the ~~the Bede, the land tax~~ in Bohemia. Its nature and amount remains uncertain; it is not even clear, whether it relates to the land and soil. The collection and the registration appears to have been left in the hands of the nobility and the towns in their precincts. It was not assessed according to hides. The Turkish tax was similar. After the country had fallen to the house of Habsburg (1526) a general self-assessment was made according to the property. Further assessments were made. The emphasis had to lie upon landed property, but the calculation varied in the different districts. The tax was calculated according to 'Taler' or guilders. It was established for each locality separately. The distribution was organized by the local authorities. This basis for the levying of taxes was kept permanently. With a certain reservation we can consider the payments which were required on this basis as part of the taxation of the land.

In spite of vast areas of land being deserted for a long time, after the Thirty Years' War a new foundation of the state taxes on the land was not created. The Electorate of Saxony kept to the cadastre of 1628, prior to the war losses; part of the ^{assessed} three cores were declared reduced, others were declared lapsed; the intention was to attain again the regular level of fully taxable threescores. The situation was reflected by the individual registers, particularly in 1688 and following. A new factor was introduced in the case of the ember tax; it was assessed according to the pieces of

land; the single pieces of land were covered to a greater extent than under the threescore tax; this resulted in an unequal burden; the small holder were taxes more heavily than the holders of hides. In the records this type of tax was brought into connection with the land tax; it came close to a tax the nature of which is that of a tax on the land. The establishment of a standing army gave rise to the introduction of a new tax which was added to the series or system of taxation of the land¹⁰. The delivery of the storage grain was requested and approved by the feudal groups in 1682 for the feeding of the troops and the provident storing of provisions. Each year a dry measure of grain had to be supplied for each taxable hide under the plough. Localities which were situated at great distance from the magazines, were permitted to pay in cash. Manorial fields and glebe land were exempt from the delivery of the dry measure. For the marching performance the peasants had to render services in connection with the transportation of food. The request depended on the size of the land and was made according to hide scales. Since that time people spoke of magazine or horse hides. In the course of the assessment wide differences were noticed in regard to the hides. This tax assumed the nature of a land tax. The increase of state income which was so urgent under Gus, was effected by an increase of the yearly quotas of the land tax and the ember tax, but above all by the introduction of the general consumption excise tax (1702-1707) which was a consumption tax and no tax on the land¹¹. The taxes which were based on the real estate, were not further developed^{in regard to the assessment}, neither in the Electorate of Saxony nor in Upper Lusatia. The rising or decreasing demand was simply adjusted by the fixing of the quotas. In spite of the generous eagerness to reform which intended better justice and economic usefulness, a new order was not established after the end of the war in 1763. However, the recognition of the existing inequalities and the

- 10) v. Roemer, in the above-mentioned place, II 251 and following, 577. - W. Thenius, Beginnings of the Standing Army in the Electorate of Saxony, p. 86 and following, 103 following.
 11) Arth. Reuschel, The Introduction of the General Consumption Excise Tax in the Electorate of Saxony (1930); Survey over the Taxation System, p. 16 and following.

injustice of the basis of taxation increased. A heavy conflict developed in public opinion. Steps were prepared for a reform¹². But these efforts were not put into practice; the traditional order continued to exist till the end of the old state constitution.

The heaviest burden connected with services of various kinds based on the land and the soil, emanated from the seignorial rights; the services can be considered as the land burden proper. However, this concentration of burdens cannot be traced back to the manorial rights alone. The rights from landed property, the seignorial rights proper, mixed with rights of legal and public and state origin. This was clearly seen in the case of the crown land, the domains of the sovereign of the country, and in a similar way in the case of the large estates of the lower level. Also among the simple estates of the knightly nobility the privileges were mixed. Manorial lords who held the power over the estates and had also rights of protection (bailiffs), at the beginning even ^{physical} claims on the ownership of their underlings, acquired increasingly rights of legal nature since the climax of the Middle Ages. A mixed sovereignty came into being. The obligation to render services emanating from the power of the court-barons and the personal ties, were not burdens based on the land as such; however, a certain change took place and the taxes etc. always referred to the land which became customary. Even in the case of services of ecclesiastical origin this was possible in connection with the land. Jurisdictional differences have to be observed here. In actual practice the results for the agrarian situation became more or less the same.

In this connection, particularly in regard to the history of the terrain, let us examine the different types of requirements and performances which belong to the group of the burdens on the land¹³. The burden proper was the ground-rent in the wide sense. It is a certain amount in cash or kind which refers to the land

12) Wilh. Berendts, Reformatory Movements, p.15 and following, 87 and following.

13) E.O. Schulze, in the above mentioned place, p.271 and following. - G.Dame, p.122 and following, 197 and following. - Details in the works on the history of various manors. - Compare Fr. Luetge, The Manorial Rights in Central Germany. Chapter V.

and constitutes a certain remuneration which is paid at certain dates for the possibility to use the land; it is paid to the lord of the manor. It is also called rent (*pensio*); it is not the ground-rent in the scientific meaning in economics - that is to say that part of the income which is derived from the benefits gained from the land after the cost for labor and capital has been deducted. In the documents we find the ground-rent since the beginning of the 12th century. The information given on it subsequently has increased considerably. In the old regions, at places with Slav population or where descendants of Slavs remained, such rent could be traced to the transformation from other types of tributes. This was particularly true in cases, where a reorganization of the terrain took place under German influence and where the layout of the village was reformed. At the German villages the ground-rent became a regular type of tax; from the foundation onward it was often only a rent of recognition; its amount was fixed according to favorable property right and remained. Fee-farm rent and simple rent were also found. At first it is mentioned in connection with the Dutch colonization (2 sol. each besides the tithe in kind, for each hide). It was usually customary at the regular villages with their quadrangular fields and their hide constitution. It was also found among the settlements with longitudinal field shapes and at the forest hide villages. The type and amount of the ground-rent^{was}/always based on the agreement made between the lord of the manor (possibly on the basis of the superior right) and the receiver of the land or estate. There was no general rule for the measuring. The customs exerted a certain influence on it. In early times the ground-rent is fixed in cash; at times the term is limited to this. But deliveries in kind were also possible: grain according to the bushel; the main types of grain, rye and oats and also barley were predominant; wheat was mentioned only in rare cases. The vineyard estates paid the rent in the shape of wine, of course. Bee farms paid in honey; for meadow land the payment was made

in hay; then there were tributes from cattle-farming such as lamb's belly, ham etc. and products of the farm such as pastry (bread, so-called Kolatschen, i.e. loaf-shaped cake), malt, beer, hops and others. Smaller rent payments were also made; they were called 'Obelci' and consisted of poultry, eggs etc. It was only natural to base the determination of the rent on the hide measurement. This happened regularly, although it was not necessary. In the 13th and 14th centuries a certain uniformity can be noticed in regard to the distribution of the hide rent: one 'mark' of silver in the Northwest, around Leipzig up to Torgau, in the Meissen area $3/4$ mr. to 1 mr (or 'Taler')¹⁴; in 1378 some loss was sustained on account of the deserted regions. Corresponding ascertainments have not been made in other regions so that a comparison between the phenomena of distribution is not possible to the fullest extent, and a conclusion as to the possibly existing relationship to the field shapes cannot be drawn. Changes of the ground-rent in the course of time were not excluded, when an opportunity presented itself. A certain rise can be noticed from the 14th to the 15th centuries. But in most cases the rent remained as it was; it had to be so according to the law which was in force at that time. The economic result was that the peasants themselves benefited from the amelioration which was a result of the work done by the peasants who extended the fields. The value of the money ~~mark~~ as well as the purchasing power decreased, whereas the nominal value was kept. Apart from the annual taxes considerable payments had to be made, especially if a piece of land changed hands. Fees had to be paid for this change; in the case of peasant tenure the tenure goods were due (frequently $1/20$ that is 5% of the value of the land), then there was a writing fee amounting to a few pennies. If in the case of death old ^{had} serfdom/existed, certain partial amounts were confiscated of the inventory of the estate, at least the so-called best piece of cattle and the best robe which meant a heavy interference into the farm.

14) C. Dame, Economic Development, p. 122; E. O. Schulze, p. 272. Around Leipzig this amount is valid even in later times.

The lease as a remuneration for the use of an estate or piece of land to be cultivated for several years, or according to the agreement also for lifetime, is related to the ground-rent, but differs from it in regard to jurisdiction and economic effect. In the case of a long-term lease, particularly lease of fee-farms, the payment came close to those made for land farmed out for ground-rent. ; the burden on the land which emerges from an original lease relationship, is much more burdensome in regard to its amount than under the old ground-rent system. - An increase of the land tax could be the result of debt in times of increasing entanglements; from the rent purchase which was supposed to be redeemable and could be paid off - Yielding of monetary capital by purchase of a rent as a remuneration for the loan of money based on the land - a permanent obligation to pay developed. Such cases occurred since the late Middle Ages, but there were not too many in the beginning.

Besides the taxes to be paid in cash and in kind there was the rendering of services (compulsory service) as a permanent burden connected with the possession of land. It is the most burdensome obligation and has been very real. But there were differences in the type and extent of obligations. The rise of the compulsory labor service for the manors may be of legal and public origin. Some services were rendered for the building of castles; the laborers were used for the construction or maintenance of the fortified positions and castles. Important services of this kind emerged from the jurisdictional power, by virtue of the authority of the government or the commutation of various claims. Others were imposed in the case of change of hand, and even in the lease contract this was possible. Most of the labor service was of benefit to the economy of the lord. There was an essential difference, whether there was a manor at the village or an adjacent farm, whether it was near to the village or whether the use of labor service did

not pay. Depending on these factors the burden was heavy , light or nonexistent. According to the type of services, horse services and services done by hand were distinguished. The former had to be rendered with carts (horse peasants) , the latter by those who were able to perform the service only themselves by hand or with tools; they were gardeners, house owners and house occupants. The heaviest services were given in the field; it was the ploughing of the land with the vassal's plough, the harrowing and sowing, the cutting of the grain and the harvesting. Other services were required in the garden, on the meadow for the hay and the second crop, on the vineyard , in the ponds where fishing was done, in the forest where wood was cut and for hunting. A difference was that some labor service was 'measured' and exactly determined according to time and performance; often the service took only a few work-kind days during the spring, in summer and fall. Other labor services were not measured. But they were not required at random; they depended on the local tradition and on the irregular need for them. The ordinary labor service could be complemented with invitations to work which, in turn, could become a permanent institution. During such labor food and other remuneration was given. In the Middle Ages the compulsory service does not appear to have been burdensome. The manorial estates were small, particularly in the old regions, where most of the manors were situated; moreover, the lord kept servants of his own. In the villages with quadrangular fields and in the forest hide settlements the estates were larger; but they were more seldom, so that the burden of the compulsory labor service was not densely distributed over the area.

Similar to the situation in regard to taxation an insight into the manorial burden was made possible only by virtue of the detailed entries made since the Reformation, particularly for the individual property of the people who were under obligation and for the elucidation of the historically developed

conditions in the terrain. On the whole, the rent imposts on the land have remained in the modern centuries. The purely manorial rent did not increase noticeably; and the value has not diminished. As a result of the conversions in the coin and money systems the nominal values were changed. It is difficult to trace this development. Deliveries in kind were increasingly replaced by payments in cash. On the other hand the requests to do labor service for the lords increased. The state, particularly since the Elector Gus, the economist, took the lead in the development in favor of an increase of the labor service. In the different districts the labor service became more and more important: there was the land and district service, the service for the adjacent land of the Electorate, cart-load services for the courts, service for the hunting-grounds for timber floating areas etc. The knightly gentlemen complied with this and made use of their power. Occasion and incitement were found in the production trend which aimed at the sale on the market. New means were used to procure manpower: the right of hiring children before they attained the required minimum age, and the compulsory labor service for the servants were introduced. They were personal obligations which were imposed on various families; it was not a question of the land service proper. But it was a perceptible increase of the burden on the peasant land. - Particularly disastrous was the threat of a development which came up in the period of increasing capitalist state and private economies: the increasing indebtedness of landed property; when debts were taken up, they were put on the land for reasons of security; this became very dangerous, because it was not easy to estimate the limitations of a bearable burden. The use of mortgages got the upperhand, when the liberty in the use of landed property increased in the 19th century.

The tributes for the church were not the most grievous burdens but they were particularly interesting for the study of the

history of the fields. The ecclesiastical tradition reaches far back into the past. The way in which the tributes of the church were computed, was particularly instructive.¹⁵ They were generally introduced in Germany since the Carolingian period. The most important taxes were the tithe from all economic profit which was made, and the decima. It was mentioned already that after the establishment of the bishoprics the Emperor had given the church at Meissen one tenth of the generally levied tithe, before the Count took his share from it.¹⁶ It was the so-called bishop's tithe of which we find variations in later times. When the christening churches were established, they received the tithe besides their land (dos; Wittum) and the personnel belonging to it; they received the pastorate tithe which was probably taken from the bishop's tithe or raised by a special foundation. The parishes of the original pastorates which had often the same boundaries as the castle wards or small districts, were also the tithe districts. It must be left open, whether the tithe was picked up from the fields after the harvest was cut, as it is known from the Eastern Slavonian countries. There is evidence from the Stauffer period that the tithe was requested in 60 bundles each within the parish as a community payment¹⁷. The tithe was fixed which the population of the old regions, mainly Wends who were still half heathen, had to pay. It served the establishment of a certain fund for the church; in this way the custom is interpreted from the Slav social setup which did not permit an assessment according to the number of hides; it was a recommendable way of taxation, because the bell-mong pieces in the terrain were situated and distributed in an irregular manner. In the Western parts (Eastern Thuringia) we find similarities with the 'shire bushel'¹⁸. When the soldiers

¹⁵E.O.Schulze, in the above mentioned place, p.294 and following. - H.F.Schjld, The Right of Establishment and Equipment of Churches in Colonial Magdeburg Parish (1924), p.135 and following; Same, The Legal Bases of the Pastoral Organization on West Slav Soil (Mag.Hist.Law Can.Sec.XV) p.5, part.12 and f.-W.Schlesinger, The German Church in the Sorb Land and the Church Organization on West Slav Soil, Mag.Eastern Res.1 (1952) was not available for the author (The Publisher). ¹⁶Sipl.Otto I, no.406, comp.366; Cod dipl. Sax.I 1, no.13 or 11.

at the Dobna district, perhaps also at other areas, paid the full tithe¹⁹, this is understandable, because they did their duty as Christians and as Germans; also the payments from the large one-crop fields were easily made. Only after they had become lords at their own church at the place of their estate and after they had established a chapel or church, they were exempted from the tithe of the original pastorate, and a new pastorate was selected. When the German colonization spread, the settlers of the new villages who received their local church often with a hide or several hides, were under an obligation to pay the tithe, often of the full tithe (limitations to the eleventh sheaf among the Dutch)). At times the tithe was divided into three parts for the local pastorate (tricesima); this was customary in the Vogtland according to Bavarian or East Franconian model²⁰. The question of the tithe to be paid for the new land, became urgent. The bishop claimed this tithe for the high church or for other purposes. This was settled only after a conflict with the secular gentlemen. An agreement made between Margrave Otto and Bishop Gerung of Meissen says that of each hide in the new villages one threescore of sheaves have to be paid²¹. This may have been appropriate on the basis of the then yield of the fields. After a conflict between Margrave Henry the Noble and the Bishop of Meissen it was agreed in 1252 that the traditional system should be continued in Meissen. The development lead to an established manner of payment in most cases: the sheaf tithe (in threescores) was replaced by the tithe of the threshed out grain as a grain tithe or bag tithe according to bushels (frequently 2 bushels of grain and oats instead of the sheaf threescore). In this connection we find

-
- 17) Doc.B. for Naumburg I 123 (1121), 177 (1146), 191 (1151) and others.
 - 18) H.F.Schmid, in the above mentioned place, p.65. - J.Leipoldt, Colonization, p.140, footnote on the grain tithe in the pastorate of Schleiz, the 'wesenter'.
 - 19) Doc.B. for Naumburg I 124 (1122) concerning the pastorate at Plauen i.V.: decima plenaria militum.
 - 20) H.F.Schmid, Establishment and Equipment of Churches, p.138 and following.
 - 21) Doc.Bishop Martin of Meissen dated June 9, 1183 concerning Bishop Gerung's period (deceased in 1170), Cod.dipl.Sax. I 2, 475.

the term grain 'decem', but payment could also be made in cash. The customs differed in the various parishes; consequently, there was great variety in regard to the tithe system. Besides the tithe paid in crop there were numerous small or 'narrow' tithes. In the peasant calendar of the Sachsenspiegel the following types of tithe are listed: the lamb tithe on the eve of Mayday, different kinds of meat tithe on midsummer day, which can also be paid with pennies, other types of tithe at St. Margaret's Day (July 13) at the root market, the goose tithe on Mary's Ascension Day (August 15), the tithe from the vineyards and tree-nurseries on St. Urban's Day, and rent on St. Bartholomew's eve (August 24); the Dresden illustrations of the Sachsenspiegel (around 1370) have shown us the tithe by means of easily perceptible pen-and-ink drawings²². Besides the tithe there were several other tributes to be paid; the mass grain or the mass penny for the sake of receiving the sacrament, but also chicken and eggs etc. The sacristan claimed small quantities of sheaves and others. Even services were rendered. The congregation could be called up for the work on the construction of the church. In the case of both secular and ecclesiastical land taxes more information is available through the recordings of the 16th century, the records of the visitations and the entries made into the official books; the situation can be judged in regard to the tithe, but no conclusions can be drawn as to the actual yield from the soil, because the rates of land tax have been established long ago. The amount of the tributes to be paid to the church on the basis of the land was not very heavy. No important change appears to have been made after the Lutheran Reformation.

A survey over the wealth and manifoldness of information available on the tributes and services conveys the impression that

22) Edition by Amira, Table 65 and following; Explanations II 423 and following.

this burden must have been very heavy. History has shown, however, that it was bearable. It must be born in mind that during most of the time it has been in existence it has been used for public purposes to a greater extent than for private ends. As to the effects, especially under our historic point of view, we note that the strong tie of the taxes with the land has greatly helped the rural conditions in their characteristic inertness which was strengthened; it was a counterpoise against the too great flexibility of the large estates. This fact has exerted its influence in the way of greater preservation of the field distribution during the centuries. The type and progress made in cultivation was also influenced by the taxes: The payment of the rent and the tithe gave cause for the greatest possible increase of the yield - even in the case of the tax to be paid in kind - till each piece of land was fully utilized; land which were tax exempt were also cultivated; as this land did not belong to the hide it remained exempt. The cultivation of special cultures was stimulated by the imposition of taxes. In the field maps prior to the agrarian reforms and the economic possibilities of the past century Saxony gives us the picture of a well cultivated/country with unusually rich, almost total cultivation with only a few reserves of pasture and almost no fallow land. Besides the diligence and the active work of the population the fact is responsible for this that besides the food for densely populated area in the towns and the countryside and the sale of the crop abroad the numerous taxes lying on the soil had to be earned.

The unshapely and complicated setup of the taxes on landed property remained till the end of the old Electorate of Saxony. Meantime in a period of sharper and more liberal schools of thought in the fields of law and economics an enlightened generation had come to the fore which criticized this tradition. The indignation was mainly directed against several exemptions which were considered unjust, against ties which appeared to be unworthy and were in the way of an appropriate economic life. The will to reform had no decisive success for several decades.

although the discussions among circumspect men in the economy had become much more lively; even among the feudal groups and at the government they were noticed²³. After the elimination of the feudal taxes in France as a result of the French revolution (1789) and after the political system of Napoleon was joined by Saxony in 1806 new attempts were made to abolish these things, but without a final result. Only after the heavy consequences of the post-war years had been overcome and the forces who were willing to reconstruct, were active again, the job was tackled anew, with so-called investigations and descriptions which are quite instructive for the evaluation of agricultural conditions²⁴. After the state reform of 1832 a law was promulgated about the commutation and the division of common property²⁵. The establishment of greatest possible freedom of landed property was announced as the most urgent need of the wellbeing of the country; the prevention of a development of agricultural activity by means of compulsory service and obligations of various kinds was stressed. The decree did not impose a repeal without compensation. Only the compulsory service in regard to the children of the subjects was annulled. In the case of the land taxes the principle was established that well earned rights should not be abolished without compensation. According to par. 20 the 'Abloesung' is the abolishment of a legal condition against compensation of the authorized party. The Abloesung was not decreed by the state; all compulsory services and services were declared annulable according to the law upon a request made by one of the parties; the same procedure^{was} applied for the division of the common land. The change was made by establishing the value in money by making very detailed investigations on the basis of official regulations and under participation of the parties concerned. This procedure has found its result in numerous documents which permit us to recognize the economic effect of the taxes on the land. The capital was established as a twentyfold amount, that is to say under the assumption of an interest yield of 5%; the commutation was effected with the payment. Both the holders of obsolete land taxes and the manorial lords benefited from this procedure. The holders of land did not always dispose of enough capital and they were

not always able to raise sufficient funds; therefore, another method was introduced in Saxony to further the work of commutation; this method had not been in use elsewhere, neither inside nor outside Germany; it acquired the reputation of being excellent: it was the establishment of the Saxonian Ground-Rent Bank in 1834. This bank took over the payment of the advanced capital to the parties entitled to it; the latter were given annuity bonds (with $3 \frac{1}{2} \%$); a rent was put on the land the amount of which corresponded to the established rent amount. The holders were under the obligation and free from the land tax. They had to pay the fixed rent amount not to the lord, as hitherto, but to a state supported and controlled bank. The amount had to be established in such a manner that within an appropriate period the amortization of the computed commutation capital was effected, in other words till there were no more debts. Only in cases of service (servitudes), especially of the right of common, privileges in the forest and similar rights, the commutation was permissible by a cession of land. In Upper Lusatia regulations were decreed on the basis of the Lusatian constitution (April 1, 1832) suspending the manorial authority as far as serfdom was concerned with its manifold personal limitations of free movement, marriage etc. The decree also changed the Lassite property into free property of the peasants. The commutation of the land taxes was not decreed; only the right was established, and the procedure, when a commutation was requested. If the party which was under an obligation, made the request, the change was made obligatory. In actual practice the removal of the traditional burden on the soil progressed according to desire. The removal of the ecclesiastical tithe (Law on the Ecclesiastical Decem in 1840) was decreed as well. After two generations the work of liberation which was started in the period of

Reformation, was completed.

23) W. Behrendts, Reform Trends in the Electorate of Sax., p. 23 and f. - Moehnert, Something about the traditional Land Taxes and the Tax Exemptions of the Estates in the Elec. of Sax. (1833). - Herb. Schoenebaum, Legal Agrarian Reforms in Sax. since the middle of the 18th Century (Sax. Agr. Mag., vol. 65, 1917). 24) Order on a New Land Tax System dated Aug. 11, 1828 (Law Coll. f. Kingd. Sax., 1828, p. 196 and following). - Comp. above p. 46 and following. 25) K. G. J. Teuthorn, The Sax. Law on Commutations and the Division of Common Land, March 17, 1832 (1904).

The unburdening of the land was a part, an important part, of the generous reform which was concerned with the agriculture of Saxony at the threshold of a new era of economic and social development. We put it into the description of the history of the terrain. The Saxonian peasant liberation, as we can put it with a not quite unmistakable but appealing expression, has taken a different turn than in the most observed areas of Germany; it deviates from the developments which took place in Prussia, particularly in its Eastern provinces²⁶. The main milestone there was the famous Edict of October 1807 which repealed serfdom and announced personal freedom. Subsequently an attempt was made by means of a 'Regulation of the manorial and peasant conditions' (1811); the owners of the large estates reacted to it, and the regulation was limited to the peasants who were able to provide draught-animals; they were under the obligation to cede one third of the land in case of inherited property, and one half in case of not inherited property. Compulsory services and tributes in kind were removed. For other reasons (Suspension of the protection of the peasants, indebtedness) the loss of peasant land became greater in favor of the manorial lords. The commutation was decreed only for peasants with good property rights (property, inherited rent right, inherited lease) by the order of 1820 (at a twentyfivefold capital amount). In Saxony, however, personal freedom for the peasantry in the wider sense had been in existence for centuries. These peasants included all who had their permanent residence in the countryside and were engaged in agriculture²⁷. Most of the peasants had the full at least usable property right on the land they possessed; or, in the case of the inherited lease (mostly crown land or ecclesiastical land) they exercised the greatest privileges irrevocably²⁸. No imposition by state law

26) Fr. Luetge, The Commutation of the Manorial Burden in Central Germany (Yearbook for Economics and Statistics, 142; 1935). - Same, About the Impact of the Peasant Liberation in Germany (same place 157, 1943; p. 353 and following).

27) Chr. G. Haubold, Text Book on Royal Sax. Private Law, par. 450.

was necessary; a cession of peasant for this purpose was out of question. Even in Upper Lusatia, where conditions were much more similar to the situation in the Eastern countries, people spoke of 'Lassite property'; this type of property was also recognized as free property without compensation. In Saxony the main problem was the commutation of the burden on the land; this was done in the described manner. Land was not ceded, and the compensation paid to the lords of the manor in cash did not result in any important loss of peasant land.

At the same time, when the easing of the tax burden had been put into practice, a liberation of another kind was decreed by the law on the mergers in 1834²⁹. The dissolution of ties which had their origin in the bellmong location of the parcels, the removal of compulsory cultivation may have been administered in a rigid or mild way. The procedure was basically the same as that applied with the commutation of the tax burden on the land (order by the state and voluntary cooperation by the parties concerned); in the course of two generations it was brought toward its goal. The divisions of the common land which were started, loosened the dependence of the soil which had to bear a burden of privileges and services; this trend was of benefit to the individual use made by the various peasants, while common cultivation was given up, as well as some advantages for the rural household. The land tax reform which was prepared by field books and field drawings (since 1835), suspended all of a sudden all land taxes which had come from the old tax requests. The land tax was now assessed according to the landed property, but it was no fixed amount which depended on the land. The reform did not influence the relationship of the peasants to the community and the local authorities with the same speed. The local government bill of 1838

28) Haubold, in the above mentioned place, par.168 and following.

29) Law on Land Mergers of June 14, 1834. Coll. of Laws and Decrees for the Kingdom of Saxony 1834, p.141 and following.- Br. Schlitte, The Merger of Land (1886); concerning Saxony and Thuringia, p.835 and following, 1085 and following.

encouraged autonomy. Patrimonial jurisdiction, at first in individual cases, was suspended by agreement; the legal reform of 1855 suspended it in general. This was of advantage to the organization of peasant affairs without manorial interference, and the free activities of the non-peasant element among the rural population was encouraged.

The impact of the Saxonian peasant liberation, gauged by the economic and social quests advanced in that time, can be considered favorably³⁰. It helped prepare the grounds for Saxonian agriculture which had a sound basis, to benefit from the progress offered at that time in regard to higher performance and to serve the wellbeing of the entire country.

3. Family and Right of Property. Rural Tradition. Compact- and free Divisibility of the Estates

The shape of the village and the division of the fields are closely related to the developments in regard to the division of inherited land, by the common law and to a greater extent by the customs prevailing among the rural population. We have to study the inheritance customs more closely, as far as they are suited for helping to shape the terrain. It is important for the preservation or change of the field shapes whether the manorial land is kept together as far as possible and the separation of land is avoided, particularly whether a division of land is made in case of inheritance or whether it is customary, to have the land, at least one yard, go undivided to one of the heirs. If we want to understand the history of the fields, we have also to look at the traditional customs and the principles applied in regard to compactness and dividability of the land. Information from olden times is very sparse in this respect. In the documents we find it very rarely. More data can be found in the legal records pro-

per, later on in the village orders, the court and jurymen's books and similar documents, the state regulations and the general legislation. Information is also contained in the collections and discussions in legal literature of the 18th and 19th centuries. Here we want to point out the most important factors of law and custom only to a limited extent, that is to say as far as they are significant for the history of the fields.'

Actions which such as the customs observed in the case of inheritance, are rooted in the descent, naturally are greatly influenced by tribal law and origin. The after-effects from pre-German times and the customs which have developed in Old Saxony, Thuringia, Franconia, in Frisia and the Netherlands, to a small extent also in Upper Germany, have spread here and have mixed with other customs. At first let us look upon the motherland of Germany. According to old Saxonian law the property of the husband and that of the bride remained separate, when the marriage was concluded. Land can be given to the wife as dowry; she can also acquire further property in addition to what she already has got; this can take place by inheritance or by donations. The husband has the right of administering (community of administration). He took the property of the wife into custody; but the decision about the property of the wife which belonged to the immobile property, had to be taken in common. The principle was established that the wife's property shall not grow nor disappear. At the death of the husband a separation took place (into two parts). There was no inheritance right on the property of the other partner. The next heir received the legacy of land of each partner. The wife was given an estate as appanage, for usufruct for lifetime. If there were children she had a right to the property of the husband, as long as she did not conclude another marriage. When the legacy was divided, the arms and weapons etc. were separated from the rest

1) Chr. Gottl. Haubold, Textbook of Royal Sax. Priv. Law; 2. ed. K. Frd. Guenther (1829), par. 306 and f., 394 and f., 458 and f. - Rich. Schroeder, Hist. Matr. Prop. Right in Germany III (1874), p. 103 and f., 80 and f., 43 and f. - A. v. Miaskowski, Inheritance Law and Land Distr. in Germany. (1882 and f.) - Frd. Huettege, Central Germ. Land Sov., p. 44 and f. Free Dividability and Compact Inheritance. - Er. Kuehn, Peasant Land and Inheritance in Dukedom Sax. Altenburg (Works on Reg. Aff., Jena, vol. 9, 1941). - K. Streller, Hist. NW Sax Peasant Family p. 108, 120. - A. Teuscher, University Village of Hohenheide, p. 43

and given to the next sword carriers. The share of the wife which was taken from the 'Fahrnis' (= property composed of the mobile property and the property which was acquired during the married life) was called 'Gerade' (widow's Gerade or 'Niftelgerade' for the next female relative. This was the property which belonged to the rural dowry. Westphalian law (Dortmund, Soest) which had little influence on the Meissen region, deviated from this, because it adhered to the common administration only in cases, in which there were no children. When there were children the 'Errungenschafts community' (community of acquired property) was valid; lateron, particularly when the property was transferred to the East (Luebeck) joint-property was in force; it was customary to divide into two halves: one half remained with the surviving party, the other half came to the children or relatives who could make claims. - According to Franconian law which, originally, did not know land property in the hands of a woman, the joint administration of acquired property had become customary, whether they had children or not. Immobile property, common property and special property was intended for the children ; after the death of one of the parties it came to the property of the children, whereas the usufruct of it as apanage was given to the survivor. The survivor could claim only the free goods as his property. When the property was divided, the old Franconian custom of partition into three was observed: $\frac{2}{3}$ to the husband, $\frac{1}{3}$ to the woman, the widow or her relatives. In Thuringia, where formerly the inheritance right of the wife on the land had been admitted only in the fifth generation, a mixture was formed. The Franconian joint ownership of acquired property was prevalent. However it had become customary that, if the children died prior to the death of the parents, a partial title of common joint-property right was observed from which the inheritance conflict benefited in the case of a new marriage.

1) continued: and following. - W.v. Boetticher, Succ. in Land Prop. of Sax. Upper Lusatia in 16th to 18th centuries. (N. Lus. Mag. vol. 107, p. 174 and following.)

in the Meissen-Saxonian area
 The development of the inheritance customs/was under the in-
 fluence of various types. An early example/¹mentioned by Thiet-
 mar in his chronicle for one of the leading families of Eastern
 Saxony from the Suabian district East of the Hartz²: the women
 (daughters) were not entitled to inherit land. The next sword
 carrier must give his express approval, of such land is to be
 given to the women, which is permissible in exceptional cases.
 Nothing is said about pertinent customs among the Slav popu-
 lation which worked on the land in these early days. Where
 leasehold existed an inheritance law proper could not be applied.
 However, we can speak of a dominating custom of property succe-
 sion, particularly in the case of a reacquisition of the par-
 ticular piece of land for the family. The term 'grandfather
 estate' (dzědzina, and Sorbic dzědžić= the heir has to be pre-
 sented) goes back to this; this custom is not proved in docu-
 ments for our country, but it was valid in the land neighboring
 in the East; it was an old Slav custom: the family estate (patri-
 monium) was what had been in possession of the grandfather and
 the father. Parties which were qualified to inherit had the
 right to claim it back (to purchase it again)³ if it had been
 sold. Such law was also known in the region East of the Saale.
 At the beginning of the 14th century there was an occasion near
 Naumburg to eliminate its application, because the freedom of
 the church to dispose of the land had been impaired⁴.

In the times of the Eastern colonization by the Germans
 the inheritance law was decisively determined by the influx of
 newcomers. With the settlers the pertinent customs came into
 the country on the great migration zones. In view of the great
 significance of the Sachsenspiegel the inheritance law laid down
 in it made itself felt also in the Meissen region⁵. The deve-
 lopments in the discussion of the inheritance problems were
 illustrated by the Dresden pictures (sketches) of the Sachsen-

spiegel around 1370, where they are described, particularly
 2) Thietmar, Chron. VI 53 and f. (Discussion between Gunzelin and
 his nephew) see V 36, VIII 50 (Inheritance of the daughters);
 comp. Sachsenspiegel I 17, par. 2

3) Foundation Book of the monastery of Heinrichau in Silesia (li-
 ber fundationis claustris S. Mariae at Heinrichow) publ. G.A. Sten-
 zel, 1854, I 7; in German by P. Bretschneider (1927), p. 41 and f.
 also Koetzschke, Sources, p. 64.

in the groups of knights, although the peasants were included. This law had been noticed already since the early days of German occupation under the knightly men who settled in the marches; later on we notice it among the peasants. We can actually trace after-effects in Saxonian inheritance law: when 'Heergewaeste' (weapons) and 'Gerade' were separated we notice this influence; also in areas where this customs was unknown to a foreign law; the conception penetrated into the law that the property has to be separated at the death of one of the partners, even if the procedure should be applied on the basis of an existing joint-property during the marriage. In the Meissen areas the Saxonian law did not acquire the impact or did not maintain its influence; in the German penetration of the country during the high Middle Ages, when the peasants continued to colonize, other tribes, the Dutch and Franconians or Thuringians had the lead.

Unusually striking is the distribution of an inheritance law which is usually called Dutch or Flemish law which is applicable for our districts, although it is not generally applicable in the history of law⁶. It is a legal custom according to which in matrimonial property law the general joint-property situation was predominant; when the marriage was dissolved, the property was divided into two halves, whether there were children or not. The survivor kept half of the property which was distributed; the other half came to the children, their heirs, or if there were no heirs, those parties who could raise a claim.

This law has been prevalent in an area which extended from the Eastern Hartz to the lower Unstrut (Flemmingen near Schulpforte), and from there towards the East to the Northeastern environment of Leipzig, and further via Kuehren to the Elbe near Riesa, but towards the South in smaller areas to the foreland of the wooded

mountains. The entire area was not exclusively covered by this
 4) Bishop Henry of Naumburg, Doc. of 1307; see Haltaus, Glossarium Germanicum I (1758), p.1403 and following. 5) Sachsenspiegel I 4-31.-A.Haenel, The matrimonial Joint-Property in Eastphalia (Mag Hist.Law, I 273 and following). 6) Frd. Rosenthal, Flemish Law in the Electorate of Saxony around 1570 (Bull. Germ. Soc. at Leipzig, XI, 15 and f.).-Br. Markgraf, Flemish Law in the Environment of Leipzig (N. Arch. Sax. Hist., 29, p.150 and f.); Same, The Flemish Area of Colonization in the Free State of Sax. (Central Germ. Bull. Folklore, VII, p.129 and f., 1032).-K. Streller, Hist. North Sax. Peasant Family, p.111 (Division into two halves with Heergewaeste and Gerade law).

kind of law, but there is evidence that it was strongly interspersed by it. It was a consequence of the infiltration from the German lowland and the Netherlands, although it/had also the region an attraction for numerous other tribes. In the course of time the application of this law underwent certain changes. The separation of 'Heergewaste' and 'Gerade' was connected with it (East of Colditz and its environment). The situation was not clear in cases, where joint-property had existed among the parties; it was not clear whether after the death of one of the parties the common property had to be divided into two halves or only from the property of the survivor. Gradually the antique custom no longer reflected the general feeling; at Gohlis L. Mencke who was a gentleman of the court there in 1720, abolished the custom. There are peculiar customs connected with the Flemish tradition: in the Helme valley people go to church, when they take over property; in Flemming society at Bitterfeld a prescribed entry into the books is made till our modern times. - It is difficult to ascertain the influence and the distribution of the Franconian-Thuringian inheritance law. It is not sufficient to consider as a characteristic the custom to divide the property into three parts after one of the parties has deceased⁷. For the Franconian people the community of acquired property was characteristic. In the land in the new East all acquired property belonged to the community. A law on the community of acquired property could easily become a law on general joint-property and a corresponding partial law on the division of property. It must be doubted that in Saxonian tracts there is still an inheritance tradition which is similar to the purely Franconian or Thuringian pattern. The law which was formed in the Meissen region and which was laid down in the law-book and is considered as the characteristic law in the march of Meissen and the land belonging to it (Osterland), is under such influence.⁸ A so-called Third-Law was predominant here, which it is briefly called⁹. It is known to

7) J. Pfitzner, Hist. Col. Const. and Admin. of Breslau Diocese Land (1926), p. 368 and f. - Th. Goerlitz, Flemish and Franc. Law in Silesia and its Resistance against Sax. Law (Mag. Hist. Law, Germ. Sec. 57, p. 138 and f.). 8) Ed. by Ortloff (1836), I 7, I, 11. 9) Ortloff, p. 35.

us by evidence in the towns of the country (Leipzig, Doebeln, Plauen i.V. and others); there is less evidence in the countryside. Joint property during the married life existed also according to this inheritance law. There were different kinds of procedures which were taken up after the death: the surviving man had usually the sole right; the widow obtained $1/3$, whereas the children received $2/3$; if there were no children, the relatives of the husband received their share, if they were entitled to it. Frequently the separation of Heergewaste and Gerade was connected with it. We find an admixture also of other Saxonian elements of tradition. - In Upper Lusatia the Sachsenspiegel was very popular; Magdeburg law penetrated here; and the Saxonian inheritance law brought its influence to bear. In general the existence of a house community between parents and children was possible; this encouraged the keeping together of the land within the family for a long time. - Besides the observation of all these traditional rights which had a regional or racial origin, there was the authority to take a final decision on the family property through a marriage contract with regulations on the heirloom; this opened the possibility to take care of special needs and to adapt the regulation to the economic development and the new conceptions.

The tradition which had grown with the colonization or had been caused by developments of local nature, continued to exist. In regard to the dialect the Meissen German is a mixture of elements of the history of colonization. Similar conclusions can be made in regard to the right of succession in the Meissen region. Cause for a sharper and more outbalancing version was provided by the contact with the lawyers who were trained in Roman law, with the terms coined by them and with the types of property and its use influenced by Roman law. Its guiding idea was the equality of right among the children and of the obligatory share, also of the statutory portion in a Roman-legal version; all this was not simply accepted and incorporated, but the freedom to bequeath was favored and the bequest regulation was laid down in detail. The regulations were contained in the legislation enacted by Elector Gus, the constitutions of 1572¹⁰.

A new state law was established for the future, the common Saxonian law was put into shape which in no way simply suspended traditional family property and succession rights, but created a norm besides which local particularities were permitted.

A look at the differences of the right of succession puts the question, in which way they may have been of influence upon the property system in the terrain. To reach a safe judgment it would be necessary to have a detailed conception about the former distribution of the inheritance customs. At the present stage of research which has examined such types of problems only to a very limited extent, this is very difficult; in view of the written evidence which was handed down the findings would be incomplete anyway. However, a few things can be said. There were big families among the Slavs and the heirs made tenacious claims on the property of the grandfather; this tradition intended to keep the land within the family for several generations; then it intended the division of the old property of the families and even encouraged a far going subdivision. The consequence had to be - not the block-like preservation of fields - but their manifold division according to the branches of the pedigree (head part of those entitled to inherit); it was frequently an irregular bellmong in small blocks and small strips. According to the Saxonian law the property of the husband and of the wife was administered in common; it was preserved for the descendants as a special property without the customary division; this furthered the preservation of the landed property in its traditional shape. This was not a guarantee for absolute safety. But the causes for the division of property and consequently for changes in the fields, which each partial law brought about in the bequest regulation, remained without effect. In the case of matrimonial property right which combines the property of the husband with that of the wife to form a joint property, an attraction was provided for merging property in the terrain. The principle of division resulted in a parcelling out after

one of the parties had died, as far as separate field pieces were concerned which belonged to the main property; it depended also upon the extent to which the typical manner of field division encouraged such procedure or not. There was a division into halves and into thirds. The former favored the subdivision into quarters, eights etc., the latter into thirds of 6.9 or 12 parts each. If we compare the distribution of the field shapes with those of the law of family property and the law of succession, as far as they can be recognized, we can see that within the area of the law of divisions into halves, in the Northern tracts, the semihides, quarter hides with their narrow strips are predominant; the division into thirds appears to be rare here. We cannot find anything similar for the law on the divisions into thirds. If the very popular measuring according to 12 units, according to the number of acres and the width of rods was the basis of the field division, every method of division leads to the same result; this fact explains the popularity.

A decisive ~~factor~~^{not} for the preservation of the unity of rural estates were the regulations of the law of succession as such but the succession observed on account of the valid tenure order. Among the estates of the knightly nobility, in the case of the genuine tenure estate, the ties had a preserving effect when the man was the heir; this was in accordance with the obligation to do labor service; the latter was threatened by each division. Among the peasants we find the tradition which was handed down from generation to generation, to give the farm, the yard to a heir/^{apparent} and to keep it undivided. A law on the next heirs with state wide validity has not been in existence in Saxony till recently. But prior to its legal recognition this tradition existed as a kind of not rigidly formal heir apparent law but only as a custom which was practiced and rooted in the ethical conscience of the peasant. The dividability of landed

property was recognized in German regions according to old law; its application, however, was not general. In the region of the marches East of the Saale it was apparently not applied among the ~~German~~ straight away. A practicable basis for the preservation of land was found in the sphere of German colonization in the hide order. Hide and compact property would not have been the same in the long run. But in the possession of the hide, in whatever way it may be interpreted, there is a momentum of combination, of compactness as a unity. The idea to have in the hide a family estate, the basis for a household, had the same effect. During the expansion of German colonization this principle was maintained. For the descendants it was possible to find new hides; the division could be avoided. After the successes obtained by the movement of colonization a certain uniformity and capacity of the hides existed; This result suggests the conclusion that it was customary to hand over the compact family hide to the successor. The period of population loss and of desertion limited the necessity for property division. There were several causes which gave rise to a tradition.

There are several possibilities how such developments took place¹¹. As far as possible care was taken that the yard was preserved for the male pedigree. It was a simple matter, if there was one son to take over. If there were several with the same right of succession, a division of the entire property, of the oneyard, or several yards or of the yard and the mobile property were taken into consideration. The rule was that the oldest son conducted the dividing and fixed the value (price) at which the yard had to be accepted (the evaluation). The younger son had to choose; the technical term was 'Kuerrecht' or 'Kuererbe'¹². If he did not make use of his right to choose, he received the Kuergeld (choosing money) as a compensation. But a custom developed

11) Compare R. Rockhausen, Agricultural Land Property in Saxony and its influence through Legislation (1930).

12) Haubold, in the above mentioned place, par. 355a.

10) Constitutiones P. III, 20; Cod. Aug. I, p. 110. Comp. H. Th. Schletter, The Constitutions of the Elector Gus of Saxony in 1572 (1857).

according to which one of the sons is entitled to have the yard in view of his age. This was a more rare case, when it was the eldest son or the son whose age was in the middle. Mostly applied was the right of the younger (sometimes called 'minorate'). Even in this case the Kuererbe was a right. If there was no son who could take over, the property could fall to the heir daughter, the 'Kuererbin'. Besides the yard there were the buildings and certain accessories of land, apart from the tramp pieces, and the important yard inventory. It was possible that the peasant determined the selection of the heir himself or regulated through a testament. But even in such cases the peasant usually followed the tradition. The transition to the successor took place in this way: a purchase agreement was made: who takes over pays the price, from which the others who are entitled are paid; this applied to later periods in which the monetary economy was better developed than before. The purchasing price was not fixed according to the common value but under the consideration that the yard should be secured. The payment for the yard was regulated in such a manner that a down-payment had to be made (in Upper Lusatia it was called 'twig money' to replace the formerly customary taking over with a branch or twig); the Payment of the other money¹³ was made at fixed often long intervals. Another procedure was applied; it was the most common for practical reasons. The old peasant gave the successor the farm while he was still alive, and retired¹⁴. This was done on the basis of an agreement. Examples were handed down to us by the courts from the 17th century and later on. The regulations about the leaving of the old people were very exact; they were intended to secure the claims of the retiring parents: apartment (free accommodation in the main building or in the house for the retired), food, heating, money and other amounts, also a small garden, compensation for services, for instance maintenance of the beehives and similar items.

¹³) Haubold, Private Law, par. 354.

¹⁴) Haubold, par. 462, 463a. - K. Streller, in the above mentioned place, p. 117 and following.

Many things had to be regulated in the settlements of succession or in the general contracts of succession: the household for a certain transition period, if the heir was still a minor, the relationship to the children during the years they were raised (for the sons up to the end of the 12th, for the girls up to the end of the 14th year), the discharge of the children from the parental authority (after completion of the 21st year), the marriage property of the children, guardianship etc.

The law tended to preserve the yard for the descendants of the family. The land was safest, if for an estate with a compact location, the succession was legally established beforehand. The nobility preferred the foundation as house property or feoffment in trust, the primogeniture. In Saxony there were so-called family estates (*bona avita*) without discrimination as to social standing, that is to say also among peasants, which came from the grandparents or earlier antecedents. These estates were not permitted to be sold at random; they could not be given away as a donation without the approval of the descendants so that the succession was guaranteed on the basis of the family¹⁵. When the property was sold, they had the right of reservation; prior to the handingover this right was practically a right of pre-emption.

The preservation of the land of the peasant yards was not based alone on the tradition, the family and legal consciousness of the peasants. The lords of the manor made their influence felt as well. This applied to the sovereignty over the land¹⁶. The division and the sale were bound to the approval of the lord. The latter were interested in keeping the land efficient and productive, so they could obtain a secure rent income. The compulsory labor service which the manorial economy needed, was dependent upon the undangered continuance of farms which had the full number of draught-animals. It was certainly possible

15) Constitutions 12, p. II; see Haubold, par. 396, 218a.

16) E.O. Schulze, Colonization, p. 207 and following. - Fr. Luetge, The Central German Sovereignty over the Land, p. 49 and following.

to find a solution for the distribution of the land in which the burden was equally distributed or one of the parties was made responsible for the payment of the whole amount. It was even possible to increase the rent, when the property was divided up. But basically the preservation of the dependent peasant land was more simple and more advantageous for the lord of the manor. The courts as such had the possibility to control the divisions which were contracted before the court; they could also delay them. Of decisive influence was the position taken by the sovereign rulers, of the medieval-Saxonian/^{state} later on of the Electorate of Saxony¹⁷. In medieval times we cannot find trends which have this purpose, but since the consolidation of the state in the reformatory period they can be clearly noticed¹⁸. Two motives were decisive in this respect: motives of social and economic policy serving the trends in favor of a preservation of peasant performance, particularly also of the obligation to serve in the army of the state, and then financial purposes of tax legislation. The Saxonian rulers began to protect the peasants in order to maintain the compactness of the peasant farms. In a state order for the Ernestine areas in Thuringia in 1556 (renewed in 1589) it was prohibited to split up the land by means of sale, succession, mortgage or otherwise without the express approval of the lord of the tenure.¹⁹ A corresponding decree was issued in the Electorate of Saxony under the Elector Gus in 1563²⁰. It was repeatedly emphasized up to the 17th century; this is an indication that the success which depended upon the attitudes of the officials, was not complete. The fight against the splitting up had the purposes of the internal revenue authorities in mind, after the land and three-score tax had proven a rich source of regular annual income for

17) For survey see Rockhausen, Rural Land Property, p.4 and following (in the Sax.patrimonial land), p.1. and following (for Upper Lusatia).

18) E.O.Schulze, Colonization, p.221.

19) Fr.Luetge, Land Sovereignty in Central Germany, p.53 (for Dukedom Altenburg). - E.Kuehn, in the above mentioned place, p.63

20) Cod.Aug.II p.1365 (May 1, 1609), reference to May 1, 1562 f. For inhibitions see Cod.Aug. II, p.11-14 (1623), p.19 (1669), p.27 (1683)

the state²¹. The separation and dividing of property endangered the ascertainment of the full amount of taxes, at least it made the collection difficult. The principle was announced that the holder of the estate from which the separation had taken place (the mother estate in this sense) was liable for the payment of the entire tax amount. It was difficult to keep the situation unequivocal, when the process of separation became more extensive and more complicated. In Upper Lusatia the dividing was prohibited. The stricter manorial system provided for authority to prevent the division and the sale of partial pieces of land²².

After the end of the Thirty Years War the intention was to further secure, solidify and extend the entire area covered by estates and farms and their compactness, where it had been in existence according to tradition. The policy concerning the separated smaller pieces played an important part in the regulations²³. The inhibition to separate was renewed. The internal revenue authorities were anxious to ascertain the original areal of the estates and farms and to put it down in terriers and tax records. But the authorities took a step further: the term of appurtenances was introduced²⁴ and every separation/^{done}without the approval of the internal revenue authorities was prohibited. Now there were two groups: estates particularly peasant farms, which had definitely no permission to separate and other types of land where a separation was not prohibited. There were also the tramp areas which did not belong to a closed area and could be sold without restriction²⁵. The field books which were established since the middle of the 18th century in increasing numbers, contain data on this; they were supposed to keep current information on the uninterrupted areals and the free dividability. This basic order has remained subsequently. The practical application was not too clear and

21) Cod. Aug. II, p. 1423. 22) Collection of regional laws of Upper Lusatia I, p. 24. 23) Cod. Aug. I, p. 326 and following (Decision). 24) Explanation in Haubold, Private Law 2, par. 174. 65) 25) Cod. Aug. II, p. 1540; item 9.

was characterized by a certain hesitancy. Instructions with legal validity were repeatedly issued; they concerned the permissibility of separation, dismemberment etc. as against the uninterrupted areas. They were particularly impressive during the reconstruction of the Saxonian agriculture after the Seven Years War²⁶. The discussion on the general subject and on individual cases was reflected in the records in many ways. After the wars of liberation the future agrarian reform was prepared in Saxony and the problem of the separated pieces of land was taken up again²⁷. At that time liberal principles made headway and the limitation of the free divisibility was qualified in the sense of greater moderation. The express approval by the highest internal revenue authority was eliminated. The state government was more interested to organize in a just manner the assumption of the obligation to pay the taxes which was necessitated by the separation²⁸.

The application of the reforms in agriculture, the mergers and the division of common land as well as the reform of the land taxation created a completely new situation. The establishment of completely free land property, the removal of all ties which had made the free sale difficult hitherto, made it possible for the land to become a factor in the free economy and the landed property was loosened in a way. The inherent dangers were recognized at an early stage. A vivid discussion took place in the Saxonian diet, among the government members and in public²⁹. The tax aspect was not the sole factor involved; the political and social momentums played an important part. For the holders of knightly estates it was important to preserve their position in the country itself and in both chambers of the diet. They did not want the estates to be weakened through the division in regard to their value and importance; for the elections

26) Cod. Aug., I. Cont., vol. II, p. 345; general instr. of Aug. 15, 1766 re admitted dismemberment; comp. same pl. 2. cont., vol. II, p. 979; general instr. of May 4, 1784. 27) LHA Dresden, Loc. 412 07 (Rep. XL, no. 320): Essay on land separated from estates and their imposition with services, rent etc., Nov. 25, 1818. 28) Cod. Aug. 3. Cont., Sec. II p. 467: Decree of March 24, 1810, Quaestio VII, par. 2; Comp. Law Coll. of Kingd. Sax. Aug. 25, 1828 (p. 205), now without spec. approval of Supreme Tax Collegiate.

the census had to be considered and the state and the society had the common interest to maintain a strong peasantry which would be able to do its job in public life. The result of the discussion which was lead with heavy arguments and with diplomacy, was the so-called dismemberment law of Nov. 30, 1843³⁰. The free divisibility was limited by state law. The maintenance of the estates and farms was secured, and the permissibility of the separation was regulated according to the tax units as they were laid down in the field books and cadastres. A separation was permitted only up to one third of the value obtained for the land belonging to an estate or farm (excluding the buildings). The limitation did not apply to the tramp land and the common land of the community, Vineyards, commercial gardens (nurseries), the building of new residential housing etc. had the possibility of being exempted. A legal standard was established for the maintenance of a capable stock of land. This is not the place to describe to what extent the expectations and apprehensions which resulted from the law, were justified in view of the rapidly progressing economy, trade and working class. The peasants adhered to their tradition. A law on the second heirs was prepared³¹. It had not been promulgated yet, when the ^{Reich} Law on the Estate of the Farmer's Family came out in 1933 which created a law on family estates for the whole of Germany.

4. The Organization of the Fields and the Field Economy.

In the introductory explanations about the agrarian order it was pointed out that it is closely related with the order governing the fields. A few more special points have to be explained which can elucidate the problem in more detail. The size units have to be characterized of which the organization

29) Records of Diet of Kgd. Sax. 1842/3; draft for law on 'divisibility of land' was submitted in Feb. 1843. Proceedings are described by Rockhausen, in the above mentioned place, p. 23 and following. - Judeich, On Consolidation and dismemberment acc. to Sax. Law (Mag. for Law and Admin. f. Kingd. Sax., vol. 11, p. 510 and following; 1853).
30) Official Gazette f. Kingd. Sax., 1843, p. 253 and following.
31) Only in 1929 a draft was made for a law on second heirs in Saxony.

of the terrain is composed. The type of cultivation applied for the purpose of obtaining the greatest possible yield has to be described as well.

a) Unit size of the field; the field dimensions.

When land was occupied or distributed the measuring unit was of great importance for the family or the peasant. For a more profound appreciation of the field divisions it is, therefore, necessary to know the type of field measuring applied in regard to the field division with ranging degrees of skill.¹ There are two types of measuring and scales: the measuring of the individual pieces of land and the measuring units applied in the formation and the calculation of the entire appurtenances of the rural economic units. In both respects a progress towards increased precision can be observed. It can be recognized by the presence of irregular bellmong fields and planned fields of differing order.

In times of poorly developed civilization the occupation of a field took place according to eyesight and estimate. A precise measurement did not exist. The organization into a settlement unit and the need for cultivation and the evaluation of the work made the application of exact measurement a necessity.

Such a measurement was easily dependent upon the usability of the field. It was not the yield of the harvest which was always insecure, but it was the quantity of seeds which were used. In this way a calculation according to bushels developed. In Latin the bushel was usually called modius; it is a measure of capacity for both secular and ecclesiastical tributes or on the market. It is found according to jurisdictional districts. The

1) The measuring of the fields is treated by G.Hanssen, The Land of the Villages (Treatise on hist. of Agriculture, II, 179 and following); A.Meitzen, Colonization and Agriculture I 83 and following, 95 and following; K.Rhamm, The Big Hides of the Northern Teutons (1905), p.576 and following, 603 and following, 621 and following. - Morgenstern, On Measurements and Weights in Kgd.Sax. (Mag.Urb. Off., 41, p.1 and following). - O.Brandt, Documentary Evidence on Measurements and Weights in Sax. (Deparm. of Interior, 1933). - Fr.Resch, Measurements and Weights in former Schoenburg Region up to the 19th century (Schoenburg Local Hist., no.9, 1936.).

entries made since the middle of the 14th century give us a description of their interdependence². The Altenburg bushel was widely used, also at Pegau, Groitzsch, Borna and Leisnig and on former Reich estates. The bushel of Rochlitz and Grimma was only half the size; the bushel of Freiberg was almost the same, and the bushel of Oederan-Schellenberg was a little bigger. The Leipzig bushel was in use in many areas; it was also valid for Naunhof. The ratio of the Leipzig bushel to the Altenburg bushel is described in different ways. In 1378 it is equated with it; but later on the information given is different. The old Leipzig bushel is $1 \frac{1}{3}$ of the later Dresden bushel³. The Meissen bushel was $\frac{2}{3}$ of the Altenburg bushel; the same was true of the bushel of (Groschen) Hain (but only $\frac{1}{2}$); the Dresden bushel was $\frac{4}{7}$. The size of the bushels of Zwickau and Chemnitz which were both Reich towns, is not listed. Later on, the old Zwickau bushel is calculated as $1 \frac{1}{2}$ Dresden bushel; it was probably the same as the Altenburg bushel which would be in accordance with the old connection with the Reich. After the state government of Saxony had been strengthened the need for a uniform regulation was apparent. Elector Gus, the economist, took appropriate measures⁴. But the government of Gus the Strong decreed more exact regulations; the bushel of Dresden was increased and taken as the standard measurement for Saxony⁵. Its ratio to the various local bushels was regulated⁶. The bushel has 16 'Metzen' (four quarters of 4 Metzen each of 4 'Maesschen' each). In some areas particularly in the West, it is calculated also as containing 4 pouring measure units ('Sipmass')⁷. In regard to the contents differences can be made as to the types of grain (grain, oats etc.). The bushel is calculated according to the law of 1858 and the conversion decree of 1869 at 103.83 l. The measurements in the Schoenburg areas were different (Glauchau, Waldenburg); they were similar to the Altenburg bushel which is explained by the ^{big}

2) Inf. in Tenure Book of Frederic the Rigid 1349/50 and in the Reg. of Margrave of Meissen 1378; also in doc. since 13th century.
3) O. Dittmann, Grain Prices at Leipzig, 17th to 19th centuries (after 1886), p. 6 and f. See also field book for Gohlis 1770. - The Deltitzsch-Landsberg bushel is based on the Leipzig b. in 1378 ($\frac{1}{3}$); (for oats $\frac{4}{9}$) and on the Torgau b. ($\frac{2}{5}$). 4) Arch. Sax. Hist. I, 441; Falke, Hist. Elec. Gus., p. 279.

connection with the Reich in the past. The bushel was not a field scale for the measuring of land. But the calculation according to the seed-corn became customary (rye); of course, there were differences according to areas and villages. On the adjacent farms of the Elector the 'Acker' had 2 bushels which is also found elsewhere and called the generally popular measurement⁸. But another ratio could also be possible. The calculation according to bushels which applied to the land, is particularly used for fields, which have no regular division according to certain measurements; It is applied mainly in the old regions, as elsewhere in Germany; it has persevered there for a long time, but it is present also in other types of fields; even in the case of forest hides we find it in the field books of the 18th century (Gersdorf near Leisnig). Even if exact measurements had been known there were cases in which the use of the old way of calculation was resumed. Another type of calculation is mentioned; the bushel land is measured according to 112.5 square rods the surface area of which depends on the locally customary rod⁹. According to this the double bushel is 225 square rods (15 x 15). Indeed, this measurement has a strikingly good ratio to several acre measurements which will be pointed out later on. A bigger measure for grain which is more rarely used, is the 'Malter' with 12 bushels. It was applied on land but was pushed into the background the more the bushel gained ground in Saxony. Other grain measures (Helmetzen at Pegau) were not used for the measuring of the soil.

The most widely spread measure in Saxony was the 'Acker'. It is mentioned in the documents at an early stage of development (ager, ackir). In the register-like recordings of the 14th century it appears as the most common measure, not only for the

5) An older Dresden measure is said to have 13 Metzen; in 1499 the bushel grain was measured acc. to 16 Metzen; in 1522 it was officially introduced as a 'big measure' (Aischeffel in the Scheffelgasse); see Brandt, in the above mentioned place, p. 31. 6) Cod. Aug. II, 1945 (1707, Aug. 31), 1891 (1712); comp. II 1682 (1682). Universal Comp. of Grain Measures in Electorate of Sax. 1720. 7) In Sorbic bushel means korc (comp. Polish korzer); then Kuritze among the Germans. 8) Households in Adjacent Farms, p. 50, 51, 64. Length of acre: p. 133, 188, 215, p. 71 and f. (bushel). 9) In Jauernig, Measures in Thuringia, p. 29 under Leipzig as Sax. (Leipz. or Dred.) bushel; p. 41 under Saalfeld Leipz. Morgen, 160 QR deviating slightly from the usual Leipzig measure.

measuring of the acres but also for the forest, meadows, copse and even ponds etc; It is absolutely clear that it is a surface measure. Detailed data permitting a check of the size are not available from those times. Besides the Acker, but much rarer, we find the Morgen as a measure unit (iugerum); it has been in use subsequently. But in Saxony it was pushed into the background by the calculation according to Acker. The usual ratio appears to have been as follows: the Morgen was about half an Acker and the Acker was a double Morgen. These measures are mentioned in the field books and in the field names. Comparing the different regions we find that there is a connection between the introduction of the field measures with the colonization. The Morgen dominates along the Rhine and in the German Northwest; the Acker is used in the central regions of Germany, particularly in Hesse and Thuringia from where it spread towards the East across the Saale. The measuring of the Acker is clearly seen in the time of Gus the Elector: at 300 square rods, 5 rods wide, 60 rods long, with a width of 1 rod 300 in length; but another ratio is also possible. Then there are other Acker sizes occasionally: at 160 (4 x 40) square rods, with 300 sq. rods also at 180. But in Saxony the Acker remained the standard. In the field books of the 18th century and in the plotting of maps it is taken as basis¹⁰. It was prescribed for the great surveying of Saxony in 1835/43¹¹. An exact determination of the size is found in the law of 1858¹². The conversion into the new metric measures was done in 1869¹³. The Saxonian field measure and 2" rod was established with 15 feet/each, that is to say 4.2950 m; the square rod had 18,447 qm, the Acker 300 square rods. = 55.748 a. For comparison the Prussian or Rhenish, also the

10) LHA, Dresden, Loc. 41207 (Rep. XL, no. 330), Loc. 41207, Acta, Cadastre re no. IV, Suppl., Rep. of Supreme Tax Collegiate of Feb. 1, 1764 (probably by Rabener). - v. Roemer, State Law of Electorate of Sax., II, 577; III, 191 and f.; 599 and f. (1792).

11) LHA, Loc. 41456, no. 209, Principles for the Establishment of Field Books... par. 23. - Law Decr. Gazet 1835, p. 166; see also Instr. of March 11, 1835 and executive order of 1838.

12) Law Gaz. 1858, p. 50 (Decr. of March 24, III, par. 8).

13) Law Gaz. 1869, p. 149 and following (Decr. of May 7).

so-called Magdeburg Morgen was mentioned which was the basis for surveying in Prussia and the formerly Electorate regions which were ceded in 1815: 180 (3 x 60) square rods (the rod with 12 ft. each) = 25.532 a.

The measure applied in the environment of Leisnig, was different: 4,000 steps on a square field¹⁴. The length of the steps is not given; therefore, the surface of this measure cannot be ascertained precisely; the fields are probably measured by 20 x 200 steps, i.e. 4 x 40 rods (160 square rods) and equals one Morgen or half an Acker. Leisnig was an old royal court, later on it was the seat of the burgraves and then it was the center of an Electorate agency. The measure appears to equal to some extent another measure which was used on an older Reich estate.

Besides the surfaces the width was measured. It can be found on different types of fields, but there had to be strips of regular width. It was applied to field pieces which were divided into strips, i.e. in the case of fields which were similar to quadrangular pieces: field names within the square fields according to the ground plan of the single plots give us evidence. The width of two rods has been a customary measuring unit which was in use from the Northwest German region along the coast towards the South to Thuringia (The 'Sottel' of the Thuringian field organization). In Lower Saxony the higher land strips between the furrows which have this or a similar width, are called 'Ruecken' (back); the name is suggestive and was used East of Leipzig (Sommerfeld) among the peasants and as field names.^{14a} Compact land of one piece or with only a few pieces are measured in their width; such as fields of longitudinal shape or field widths, mostly in the case of forest hides which cross the fields, meadows and the copse. The division into 24 rods or 12 double rods

¹⁴) In field books near Leisnig: Alt-Leisnig, Fischendorf, Tragnitz and others. The step (now usually 75 or 80 cm) is 3 shoe, i.e. 1 1/2 ells (84.96 cm) under Gus the Elector; see Brandt, in the above mentioned place, p. 5; 5 steps are 4.284 m, i.e. appr. the length of the Sax. rod. Comp. Leipz. Morgen under Saalfeld (see footnote 9P).

^{14a}) W. Emmerich, Evidence in the unprinted essay mentioned above on p. 46 footnote 29.

is customary; it is found in the Erzgebirge and further East towards the forest mountains of the Upper Lusatian region and further towards the East.¹⁵ A fixed area was not given with such width measure. It depends upon the length of the strips or ribbons. Only if the length has a fixed measure which has become dominant, a regular surface size can be established. Indeed, this has been the case among the widths of 12 or 24 rods, so that a conversion into Saxonian acres was possible on this basis; this system became dominant. When we study the hides we will say more about this.

Special measures have also been in use. Besides the Acker several types of measures were customary for cultivations other than field tilling. The meadow was measured according to loads of hay which does not give us an exact surface. The vineyards were evaluated according to pales, the ponds according to three-scores of brood-fish (spawns) etc. In the Upper Erzgebirge we find a measure according to pieces of cloth at the exiles' villages, when the land was distributed: a high cloth (or 80 double steps long) and a bundle of rags (or 40 steps in the width); this terminology probably emerged from the bleaching work done by the linen-weavers.

Besides the individual parcels the big uninterrupted properties were measured. It appears to have been done in earlier times by the administration and had been in the minds of the property owners for a long time. A method of calculation which was adapted to the economy was that of the plough (aratrum) in the sense of the performance of the plough during one day when the field was tilled; mostly it refers to the size of the ploughable land belonging to an estate or an adjacent farm. The plough is not often used as a field measuring unit and no definite surface is given.

15) Frequently we find the data in official records for more Western areas (Colditz, Rochlitz, Chemnitz and others).

A larger measuring unit for agricultural land is the hide. It has become a basic term in the agricultural order¹⁶. Besides its significance as a unit for the payments to be made to the authorities of the state and the lords of the manor it served as a measure unit for the fields, as share privilege or as a real surface size: the payment hide and field hide have to be distinguished from each other; it may be possible that they are the same but it is not necessarily so. The Latin term is mansus; its root points to the staying, the settling. It means a place where the people live and work. More general it is the peasant place, but it can refer also only to the land belonging to the peasant. The German term is huba, hufe (1349). Both terms can be distinguished from each other, but already in early times they came so close together that one can replace the other; Hufe can appear as the German version of mansus and vice versa. The following may be said in regard to the history of the use made of these terms. It is significant that in the list of estates for the region of Hersfeld from the Carolingian period a distinction is made between hubae and mansi; at the villages where Slavs are living near the Saale, the land is counted according to hides, but it says that they have not got any mansi. The reason for this cannot be the assumption that in this area the Slavs were free holders of hides which were not under the obligation to do compulsory labor service¹⁷. It must be explained by the Slav social order, because the Slavs did not know peasant farms according to the mansus; they lived in greater living and family units, whereas an assessment of the entire village and its family appurtenances was quite possible for the payment of the tributes. There were no hides in the sense of peasant land in the Sorbic marches at the beginning. Mansi are not mentioned at all, when the German kings distributed the castle wards. According to

- 16) R. Koetzschke, Hide and Hide System in Central Germany (Economy and Civilization, Festival Publ. for A. Dopsch, 1938, p. 243 and following).
 17) Frd. Luege, Agrarian Order of the early Middle Ages, p. 197, 263 and following. - Compare above p.

Thietmar's report (VIII 25) Bishop Eid (deceased in 1017) acquired 200 mansi for his High church; it is not certain, whether it was in the Meissen region or in his homeland, in Old Saxony; a safe conclusion as to the presence of hides in the march of Meissen cannot be made. In the 11th century the notion of the hide spread East of the Saale. At first it is conceivable, when royal hides (mansi regales) are mentioned; at the beginning they are listed near the Saale, under Henry IV. near Oschatz and on Elbe (near Dresden), and also at Goerlitz¹⁸. They were not hides for use in the sense of a wider economic unit; they were only a term which indicated the size, when land was distributed; it was only a measure; we can see and regularly also this in the Southeast, in the Bavarian Eastern March.

Royal hides are mentioned up to the early Stauffer period. at last under King Konrad III; in 1143 100 royal hides were given to the monastery of Buerger (later on Remse) in the Pleissen forest along both sides of the Mulde¹⁹, but no longer under Frederic Barbarossa. No details are given about the size of the area. Hides (mansi) in peasant hand are mentioned near Saalfeld around 1070, in the Elster region since the time around 1100 (foundation of the monastery of Pegau), in 1118 in the Muldenland; (near Zwickau), when the church of Plauen was equipped in 1122 a mansus is mentioned (at Chrieschwietz), on which four Slavs were living; since that time we find the hides listed more frequently. For the Provost of Zeitz a description is available of a group of villages according to the property of the various peasants in 1196 with information about the mansi and their supply. In the March of Meissen the mansus is mentioned at first during the German colonization both in the regularly shaped villages of the lowlands with their quadrangular fields (at Kuehren in 1154 when the Flemish peasants were settled) and during the

18) Documentary evidence for royal hides: Docu.B. for Merseburg I 27 (of 999 Obhausen), 39 (1012: Schkeitbar, Keuschberg), 62 (1012: in the Hasse district), 79 (1068: Knapendorf). - God. dipl. Sax., I, 1, no. 92 (1041: Taucha), 136 (1068: Loebtau), 141 (1071: Goerlitz). - Meitzen, Colonization and Agriculture I Encl. 115 (Bischdorf near Merseburg); 133 (Taucha near Weissenfels); 131 (royal hides at Goerlitz); see also the exact descriptions given by R. Jeck on the adjacent farms there, with attached map: Hist. of the Town of Goerlitz I, 2 (1928), p. 578 and following.

19) Docu.B. for Naumburg I 158.

time when the land was cleared from wood; the German term was 'Lehen' here; this points to property, but includes also the area calculation of land which was distributed afterwards: see the donation to the monastery of Altzelle in 1162²⁰ and the agreement made between margrave Otto and Bishop Gerung of Meissen on the ecclesiastical tithe²¹.

Of great importance for the understanding of the field order was the size of the hide. Unfortunately there are no data available about this point up to the time of the medieval colonization; even afterwards the information handed down to us speaks of the hides only in very rare cases as far as their size is concerned. Only in the entries made during the period of Reformation, in the official books, terriers, hide lists and visitation files, later on in the field books, we have clear evidence; frequently the term 'hide of land' is used; this includes the notion of the area of land; the size must not necessarily be the same. The size of the hide must be determined indirectly, if the number of hides of a village terrain and the size of the terrain are known; field books and field maps can be of good service here. The hide which refers to the entire area must be distinguished from the hide of the field, i.e. of the tilled land; if no difference is made, the calculations may not be correct.

The hides were measured according to the above mentioned two measure units, according to the numbers of Acker and according to the width measured in rods. Standard measures have developed for this. The first mention made of a measure speaks only of a big hide (mansus magnus), when the land was distributed by the margrave²². This permits the conclusion that such a hide must be distinguished from smaller hides. In the Northwest (Elsterland, District of Pegau) a hide was 12 Acker. A popular hide,

particularly in the Northern tracts, covers 30 Acker²³; it is 20) Cod. dipl. Sax. I 2, 308, comp. 510. 21) R. Koetzschke, Sources on Hist. of East Germ. Col. (see Sachsweiser). 22) Cod. dipl. Sax. II 9 (Doc. B. for Leipzig) no 14 of 1245; Field size in 1840: 225 A 29 sq. rods, hide number prior to 1539: appr. 8.

probably the big hide which we have just mentioned. Then there are hides with 24 Acker; similar hides with 21 and 27 Acker and also with 36 Acker; these figures can be divided by three which is explained by the adaptation to the three-fallow system. In certain localities there are also deviating hide sizes which have a different number of Acker. If the hide is measured according to its width, the hide with 12 measuring rods is the standard, i.e. double rods or 24 simple rods²⁴. If there is a certain length there is an area of 42-43 or 47 to 49 according to the rod size on flat or wooded soil, but this is not a standardized Acker number; it is the result of the application of the younger Saxonian standard Acker to this hide size.

The different hide sizes are put into relation to the family designations²⁵. A Slav hide (*mansus slavonicus* as in the South-eastern Alps) is not known in the marches East of the Saale. We cannot speak of Slav hides. According to later study the hides which were customary in the areas with a Slav population, are smaller than those within the sphere of German colonization. It would, however, be too dangerous to give a definite limit of area size. In the more extensive sphere of the German Colonization of the East (Silesia) the Flemish hide and the Franconian hide are usually put opposite toward each other. Both terms are not known in the Saxonian regions. But the settling of Flemings and Franconians can be clearly seen; therefore, it is not inappropriate to speak of Flemish and Franconian hides and their characteristics as to type, size etc., whereas the expression 'Saxonian hide' cannot be proven by source material; it would easily lead to misunderstanding, because a Saxonian state hide has not been created. The size of the 30 Acker hide matches very well with the widely used Flemish hide in the German Northeast. We must add, however, that after the Flemish settling or during its imitation in our country not only this type of hide is used but also smaller hides, particularly the hide with 24 Acker.

23) Same place, II 9, 137; see W. Emmerich, Moelkau-Zweinaundorf (1937) p. 44. Cod. dipl. Sax. II 10, p. 127: 'The old people count 30 Acker is one hide.' (Information from peasants of the nunnery).

24) See above p. 211 and footnote 15. A. Meiche, The Old Zellwald (N. Arch. Sax. Hist. 41, p. 30 and f.) pointed this out first. Printed: R. Koetzschke, Sources on East Germ. Col. no. 77. For expl. see v. Loesch, The Franconian hide in Upper Lusatia (N. Lus. Mag. 102, p. 50 and f.)

There is evidence that the 12rod hide is known in the East as the Franconian hide (up to and incl. parts of Poland). There (at Cracow) an instructive order on the measuring of such hides was traced which A. Meiche discovered during his studies of the old Zell Forest in a Dresden text and which he has discussed. Although it was not intended directly for the Franconian hides in Upper Saxony, it is significant anyway. When we use this term according to the family connection, we have to be careful. In no way we are permitted to draw conclusions from the later established hide size to the origin of the settlers.

Although standard sizes of the hides were valid, the term remained vague. Its real profit value differed according to the quality of the soil and the 'opportunity'. The composition of a hide changed through sale, acquisition and exchange, even if its size remained the same. The number of hides in a precinct was not firmly established. Where the number was ascertained in recordings of various periods and where these data were compared with each other, a certain tenacity was established. They change frequently, to a small or to a larger extent. The number of hides must not necessarily have changed in actual practice. The data may be inexact; some deserted hides may have been omitted. Or a different type of hide may have been taken as basis. In any case we have to be very circumspect, when we evaluate the number of hides. During the introduction of the magazine grain in 1680 a new way of calculation of the land according to magazine hides came up which did not agree with the old way of calculation²⁶. In regard to individual hide property it was often

25) Joh. Langer, Local Excursions, p. 31; the explanations of the different size of the hides are noteworthy, but there are misgivings against naming the hides according to families. The same is true of the not always reliable data from the environment of Leipzig by Br. Markgraf (Publ. Soc. Hist. Leipzig, X, p. 17 and following.)

26) v. Roemer, State Law, II, 577; see above p. 120 (Land Taxes).

quite different. It was not always the inviolable rule that one hide had to belong to a peasant farm and household. At the beginning there may have been a certain uniformity of hide property. But a change took place in this. In the 16th century there were still peasants who had one hide; this was the case in the West (West of Frohburg-Kohren) ; but it appears more as an exception. Frequently the property of several hides was in one hand (for instance in the district of Lommatzsch). In the course of time the rule developed that the hides were divided into half or quarter hides, eighths; later on, they were split up still further to an increasing extent; the width was measured according to the number of rods. In spite of all this the hide was kept permanently as a convenient basic measure, as it was firmly attached to the rural life order. Gradually its great irregularity was considered an obstacle which gave rise to apparent incorrectness; finally, in the periods of the agrarian reforms after 1830 they were eliminated and a valuable piece of traditional peasant life was abolished.

Notes on the Calculation of the Measure.

For a determination of the field measures which is to serve the history of agriculture and colonization, it is not sufficient to convert individual data, although it is done with detailed exactitude, into the metric system, and to use as standard. Our job is always to survey the entire tradition according to the historic documents, as it was prevalent in the measuring methods and in the establishment of the measures in olden times. Unfortunately the historical material in the times of colonization themselves is too scarce, so that we cannot do without conclusions a posteriori. Following are only a few guiding observations²⁷.

- 27) A list of customary longitudinal and area measures is compiled by F.G.Gauss in A.Meitzen: Soil and Agricultural Conditions of the Prussian State III 599 and f.(1871).-R.J.auernig, The old customary measures in Thuringia and their conversion (1929).-Hide and field measures were calculated by A.Meiche, in the above mentioned place, p.32 and f., J.Langer, Local Exc., p.30 and f.-W.Heinich, Royal and Forest Hides and Sax.Acker (N.Arch.f.Sax.Hist., 51, 1 and f.: metrically exact and careful, but not sufficiently supported in regard to the hist. of agr.)- (Cont'd.)

The first exact measures are known to us from the period of Reformation, when the science of practical geometry and cartography developed and the art of surveying prospered and the big surveying of the Electorate of Saxony was under way (Og. and M. Oeder). During this enterprise which was encouraged by the Elector Gus, a rod was taken as basis which had 8 ells. It was used in the measuring of the adjacent farms of the Electorate and of forests (for instance at Hohenstein)²⁸. But when the adjacent farms were measured, a rod with 7 1/2 ells was also used; the Acker was counted at 300 of such rods in a square field (Muehlberg on Elbe)²⁹. This type of rod from the time of the Elector Gus can be ascertained with the greatest exactitude. A measure was found on the basis of which the Elector had entries made of several fathoms in the mines³⁰. According to this the Dresden ell is 568 mm, the Freiberg ell 563.4 (according to Agricola 564) mm, the Leipzig 566.66 (or 566.83) mm; these differences are not important; however, they must be noted, because they multiply during the measuring. The 7 1/2 ell rod would be 4.26 m on the basis of the measure of the Dresden ell, and 4.245 m according to the Leipzig measure (8 Dresden ells are 4.544 m; 8 ells according to the Leipzig measure are 4.53 m). Notes made on a rod around 1780 in connection with the surveying of fields, meadows and copse gave a length of the 8-ell Dresden rod of 4.548 m (the ell is 568.5 mm), and of the Leipzig rod 4.298 m³¹.

Subsequently, the ratio between Acker and rod remained. There was a state wide measure, although local differences were not completely eliminated, inspite of the decrees which the Elector Gus had issued in 1556 and which were renewed by his successors. Progress was made under Gus the Strong.

27) continued: The following data give figures which are rounded off, although the calculation of the decimals was checked; this was done to facilitate the survey and because the older figures, particularly in the period of colonization, could not be too exact.

28) LHA, Loc. 7376 (III 21, fol. 182b), Hohenstein das forweg belangend 1569. - State Libr. Dresden, K. 348 Abris der Forweg Felder durch Georg Oeder den Juengeren Markscheider Anno 1570; same place K. 432.

Now a Saxonian ell was firmly established; the Leipzig ell was selected for this, probably because of its importance for the traffic³². The field rod received the norm of 7 1/2 ells and 2 Gemuend which was an adaptation of the rod length to the somewhat smaller Leipzig measure of the ell. Since that time this measure, the Acker with 300 of such square rods, is frequently mentioned in the decrees concerning the field surveying and the establishment of field registers; at times it is added that the application of local measures is permissible³³. This scale is mostly found on the drafts of field sketches made in the 18th century. The authorities adhered to this scale also during the resumption of the great surveying plans in the early 19th century and since 1819 (executive order of 1829, I par. 2: Acker with 300 square rods, rod of 7 Dresden ells 14"); it also appears in the executive order for the surveying personnel during the surveying of the entire country for the preparation of a new land tax system of May 5, 1837^{33a}. In the law of March 12, 1858, par. 8, the Leipzig foot of 0.283 m, the ell of 2 feet, the field surveying rod of 15 feet and 2" (=4.295 m), the road rod of 16 feet were established as official measures; the square rod for field surveying was determined as the exclusive scale and the Acker was fixed with 300 of such square rods.

The application of this Acker and rod scale can be traced to the time of the first above mentioned exact scales. There is a record on the Ackers of the 'Artland' in the possession of the Leipzig nunnery St. George from the time around 1541, when the council of the municipality of Leipzig acquired the monastic estate after the introduction of the Reformation³⁴.

An old surveying of the block-shaped fields is compared with

29) LHA. Loc. 31929. Exchange of districts of Stolpen and Muehlberg. Vol. I, 392. 30) O. Brandt, The Mining Fathom of the Elector Gus at Freiberg (N. Arch. f. Sax. Hist. 60, p. 126 and f.).

31) Fr. Resch, Schoenburg. Loc. Hist. Series, no. 9, p. 19, mentions a survey of the municipal forest at Waldenburg in 1609 acc. to the Leipzig measure with the 7 1/2 ell rod and a Gemuend of 300 cross rods. This would be a rod of 4.268 m; almost the same as the Dresden ell (568, (3) ..): 4.262 m.

the new method of surveying which is based on the scale of 300 square rods. The ratio is appr. 16 too few beyond 15. Both measurements were made according to Acker sizes which are like a rod which is a little smaller than a rod of a little over 15 feet (7 1/2 ells plus 2 Genuend). As the later already known field rod (of 4.295 m) is actually a little greater than 15 Leipzig feet (af 28.3 cm this would be 4.245 m), this rod or a quite similar rod has probably be in use after that new surveying of 1541. It can be considered a general scale basis, a Saxonian rod scale; the rod of Halle comes nearest to it: 4.329 m (15 ft, 23.8 cm each). The Saxonian rod is of medium length; it is longer than the so-called Rhenish rod of 3.77 m (12 ft. at 31.4 cm), and smaller than the rods of 15 ft. at 4.5 and 4.6 (6) m frequently used in the German West, and the so-called royal rod (virga regalis) at 4.7 m to which the above computed longer rod which is used in the forests, comes near. Quite similar would be a rod of 14 ft as we find it in Frisia (4.256 on the basis of an Anglo-Frisian foot of 3.04) which agrees to the fact that the rod is called 'Flemish rod' at of Magdeburg -Halle in the East. The square rod according to the Meissen-Saxonian scale is 18.477 qm. According to this the Acker was 300 square rods at an early time, 55.341a, which agrees with the official statement which was made lateron.

Other land scales are found in the Meissen region of Saxony and its environment. For Saalfeld a Leipzig Morgen is mentioned at 160 square rods (of 12 shoe: 18.406a, at 16 shoe:32.732) by which an older Leipzig scale of rods at 16 ft. is confirmed³⁵.

- 32) LHA.Loc.41254 (Rep.XL,no.484): Principles for the Preparation of Field Books, see under Vorerinnerungen, par.19.
- 33) LHA.Loc.41207 (Rep.XL,no.330), Monita; 1741.
- 33a) LHA.Loc.33315. Instructions, vol.II and following, p.175 and following.
- 34) Cod.dipl.Sax.II.10 (Doc.B. for Leipzig) p.133.
- 35) Jauernig, Thuringian Measurements, p.41.

According to the official terrier of Oschatz 160 rods were counted there for each Acker (40 for the length and 4 for the width)³⁶. At the district of Borna one Acker had 180 square rods (3 wide, 60 long); the rod was 10 ells and 1 Gemuend³⁷; this is appr. 58a. The official book for Colditz writes (vol.II, sheet 1154 and following) as follows: the Acker has 290 rods, the rod has 8 ells in the square (20.5(5) qm, this is appr.59.5 a). More of such examples could be given. The Altenburg or Naumburg Acker which was widely used (Camberg, Eisenberg), is based on 200 square rods; the rod has 10 ells (20 ft.) = 5.66 m, a total of 64.157 a³⁸. The Merseburg Acker was measured with 9 ell rods; it was somewhat behind the 2 Magdeburg Morgen (=1 Mg.Magdbg. 155 square rods, 88 sq.ft.) and is, therefore, appr.47.6a³⁹. The double Morgen listed under Leipzig with 225 square rods is almost the same as the Merseburg Acker, the Acker of Halle-Magdeburg and those around Borna and Colditz, depending on the length of the rod. The half part is similar to the Morgen scales used in Central Germany: Leipzig's central and mediating position seems to be reflected in this. These special scales in small territories and districts are explained by the younger state organization, but can also trace remnants of tradition (the use of the Morgen at 3 x 60 rods was formerly widely known in Lower Saxony, along the lower part of the Rhine and in the German South; the measurement with Morgens at 4 x 10 rods and similar scales were used in Thuringia and Franconia, both on crown land)⁴⁰.

The question of origin of the scale of (the Electorate of) Saxony cannot be explained on the basis of documentary evidence. It can be elucidated only by comparison. As it was said above,

36) LHA Offical Book of 1552, sheet 168.

37) LHA:Loc.7359 (III,21,fol.42b), hide list of 1587.

38) Jauernig, in the above mentioned place, p.7.-L.Naumann, Thur. Sax.Mag.f.Hist.III,189.

39) O.Kuestermann N.Bull.from the field of hist.ant.Res.XVI; see also Markgraf, Contr.Sax.Church Hist.25,p.44 and f. The above calculation is based on a surveying of 1837 (Building Inspector Zahn). Alfr.Schmekel (Hist.top.descr.Convent Merseburg,1858) gives:180 sq.r. @ 1 1/2 ells each. Acc.to inf.

(continued)

the Saxonian Acker is a double Morgen. A direct relation to the Magdeburg Morgen (25.53a; 180 (3 x 60) sq.r. at 14.18 qm, 3 r. wide, 60 long) cannot be ascertained. Comparable to the Saxonian Morgen (half Acker) are some Thuringian Morgen (Erfurt: 26.42a; most exact that of Nordhausen (formerly Reich estate): 27.72a, but not as to the type of their application (168 or 160 sq.r.). The old Kulm Morgen with 300 sq.r. (18.677 qm each with 15 ft. rod) = 56.03a and the Silesian Morgen at 300 Breslau sq.r. = 56.01a are almost exactly the same as the Saxonian Acker. The distribution of this scale which can be derived from the rod of Halle (sq.r. 18.67 qm), permits us to conclude to the origin from the central area of the Elbe; the great similarity with the Saxonian Acker agrees with this completely. As the so-called Old-Magdeburg or a similar Morgen cannot be the basis, we can conclude to a scale of the medieval colonization. On the lower Rhine (Cologne) and in Westphalia (Dortmund) there are Morgens at 150 sq.r. and 300 sq.r. and big Morgen with 600 sq.r.; their surface area is different and the rods have a different number of feet. In the Netherlands Morgen, in Flanders 'gemet' were customary with 300 sq.r., also big Morgen with 600 sq.r.⁴¹, partly in agreement with the Eastern scale. An influence from the Netherlands and the lower part of the Rhine is assumed which was exerted on the formation of the 300 sq.r. Acker during the colonization around the middle of the 12th century in the central parts of the Elbe region, because there is evidence of land distribution according to Dutch or Flemish scale at times; also a scale of 5 x 60 r. (= 300 sq.r.) can be deduced from the measuring data for the Dutch settlement near Bremen in 1106 (compare the Jueck

- 39 continued) from 1507 the Merseburg rod has 9 ells and 1 Gemuend (i.e. 1/9 of an ell); this old Merseburg ell is somewhat bigger than the Sax: 57.648 cm; the rod is 5.2 m (5.1 = 18 ft at 28.3 cm). In 1711/13 field books (period of great atlas with field sketches) give the following inf.: 8 Merseburg Acker are almost 15 Magdeburg Morgen. The Merseburg A. is 47.6a, or a little more, i.e. 180 sq.r. acc. to old Mers. scale.
- 40) In old Austria (Vienna) there was the Joch at 57.546a; half a Joch, the same as the Morgen (in Bohemia: Strich, also Scheffel) had 800 sq. fathoms (3.596 qm each), the Joch was 4 x 400 (fathoms = 1/2 rod).

at Ruestringen: 0.56 ha). That scale is a phenomenon of the new settlements in the Eastern parts of Central Germany - particularly around Magdeburg - during the first phase of the great East German colonization.

This assumption is confirmed by the calculation of the hides. The hide with 30 Saxonian Acker gives an area of 16.602 ha; this is almost equal to the so-called Flemish hide of 16.80 ha as we find it in Silesia, Eastern Prussia and further East. This term can also be used for the Northern parts of Saxony. But it can also be found in places where Flemish settlements are not assumed; apparently it was spread to wider regions. A well-known hide in the Northwestern parts of Saxony was the hide with 24 Acker, i.e. 13.28 ha. It appears to have played the part of a smaller Flemish hide; however, at times it is the hide of the field, whereas the size of the hide, referred to the entire terrain of the village, was greater. The area size of hides with different numbers of Acker can be easily established on the basis of the scale, whatever method was used in the land distribution according to the shape of the terrain.

In regard to the so-called Franconian hide which is 12 or 24 rods wide, we have to note, that the basic measuring rod which was established according to the mentioned decree concerning the measuring of the hides, was a rod of 15 ells, a double rod (of 30 ft.). As the length is three fields x 90 r. (i.e. 30 Seil (ropes) of 3 r. each) = 270 of such rods, the entire hide covers 3,240 sq. measuring rods (or 12,690 simple sq. r.). With the Meissen-Saxonian basic scale this is 23,906 ha on flat soil, and 27,185 ha on forest ground⁴². The description of the hide surveying says that, if there is only land for one/field, the longitudinal

41) Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal (de Vries and others) IV 1423 (gemeet); see also XIII, 667 and following (roede). According to inf. of a 'Urbar' of St. Trond (Eastern Belgium) an invoice according to land strips of 100 rods (long)(hunt), 5 or 6 for each Morgen, was customary around Aalburg in the region of the mouth of the Rhine, with 20 Mg. at 5 hunt each: 16.81 ha, i.e. exactly the amount of the so-called Flemish hide in the Eastern settlements; see Livre de l'Abbe Guillaume, publ. H. Pirenne (1896), p. LVI and following

width of the hide is measured three times; in the case of land for 2 fields $1\frac{1}{2}$ times or there are the two field lengths for 8 rods as $\frac{2}{3}$ hide; one could say small hide; this is a purely formal difference, but it can be based on the fact that in areas where there are only two fields, the two-field-system may have prevailed, which would mean an expansion of the fallow land and a limitation of the land which was cultivated with seed. Perhaps the distribution of two hides may in such case be explained according to the width, particularly if the tilling is made difficult on account of the separate locations. The fields with two field lengths are not seldom in the Erzgebirge and in Southern Lusatia, where the Franconian hide is often used and where it can be shown by very good examples. Converted into Saxonian Acker, we get a figure of 43.2 or 49.1 Acker. In this sense we can speak of a Franconian hide of 43 or 49 Acker each. The most widely spread so-called Franconian hides of the Erzgebirge and Upper Lusatia have actually 42-43 Sax.Acker lateron, i.e. 23.144 or 23.70 ha, the larger ones which are measured according to forest rods 49 A., i.e. 27.12 (50 A.:27.675)ha. On the basis of the full hide two field hides (or 8 rods wide) are 16.81 ha⁴³. Only we cannot think of an original measurement of such Acker numbers. In the official books and field book-like records we find data according to bushels in regard to peasant farms with forest hides, and besides the hide measure we find also the number of Acker; these standard values play a part there, but we also find the 30 Acker hide. If we make an attempt to interpret we have to point out that in the oldest testimony in our country, in the description of the Altzelle 800 hide property in the mountain forest near the boundary a measurement term is mentioned in 1185: 'Gewende'

42) See above p.

43) According to the old measure in the district of Colditz (see above p.216) 45 Acker would be 26.775 ha, almost the same measure which A.Meiche (in the above mentioned place, p.29 or 32) has found for the area of the 800 hides of the old Zell Forest as hide unit: 26.525 or 26.875 ha.

(guende) as mensura triginta perticarum in a length of 30 measuring rods, i.e. double rods⁴⁴. In the decree concerning the unit of Franconian hides this term is not mentioned, but in the surveying of fields and roads it is customary; it is also known to the jurymen of Magdeburg and Leipzig in the sense of 60 simple rods, agreeing with the Acker length in the Meissen area⁴⁵. The application of the big rod is secured. Is it possible to ascertain the origin of the width calculation for that hide type? In the Franconian regions we meet different scales according to rods, but we do not find a standard of 24 (12) rods. In the Eastern part of Franconia the model cannot be found. In the Vogtland there is no definite standard according to width and length; perhaps the presence of another type of rod (3.7 m) can be ascertained in the case of longitudinal fields⁴⁶. In the areas neighboring Saxony in the Northwest a scale according to 12 rod widths can be found; at least it can be made probable. This applies to the Dutch settlement of Flemmingen near Naumburg and for localities in the castle district west of Merseburg in a region of a definite land distribution, where crown land is mentioned⁴⁷. The fields were parcelled as quadrangular pieces later on; at first they were divided into ribbon-like longitudinal strips, with a measure according to royal units, in a longitudinal line which agrees very well with that 'Franconian' standard. An influence from the sphere of such early colonization is all the more credible as land distribution on royal territory took place between Saale and Neisse. Now there are two points which attract attention. Among the two data on the width according to the unit or 12 or 24 rods, the measuring according to simple (24) rods appears to agree more with old tradition. It is in agreement with this, in turn, that it was found in the more western, early colonized areas (near Chemnitz, on former Reich estates; at the Zwickau Mulde, in the formerly royal Pleissen Forest). 44) The 7 Gewende units on the right bank of the Striegis which are intended to complement the villages of Ekkehard (border description of the Zell Forest in the doc. of 1185) cannot be found as Meiche suggests (in the above mentioned place, p. 11) in the Northwestern longitudinal direction, but in cross-country direction, towards the 'Laengens' of the Franconian hide (see the field map of Oberschoena). The pertica can only be a double rod; according to the finding it cannot be established whether with 15 1/2 ells or 16 ells.

In regard to the measuring with the rod on flat ground and with the somewhat longer rod (of 16 ft.) which comes near to the royal rod, the latter is not only a variation. When the land was cleared from forest and the ground was not flat, it must have originally been applied. The forest hide with the greater width (appr. 108/111m) or the higher number of Saxonian Acker is found at numerous village and field plans of the mountainous forests and in the fore-land (near Chemnitz, near Freiberg, in the former border forest South of Meissen). The smaller hide unit in open country proves a unit which depends on the light work of the cultivation, as an adaptation to the elsewhere used type of field measuring and rod size which has been decisive for the Saxonian Acker; it was adapted to the measuring methods applied in the Meissen-Saxonian regions of the old country and in the areas where there were Dutch settlers⁴⁸. The Franconian hide is also a phenomenon of the new colonization in Eastern parts of Central Germany, on the areas of settlements which cleared the land from forest in the mountains; like the Flemish it has widely spread towards the East which was opened up to German settlers, toward Silesia and Poland to the wooded mountains of the Carpathian Mountains; connections with the measures applied in the German motherland can be recognized easily, but no detailed model can be ascertained.

This brings us back to the problem of the hide sizes. The influence of the royal hide on the land surveying between Saale and Neisse can be established. However, we cannot ascertain a completely equal area unit⁴⁹. There were certainly differences between the royal field hide (on prepared already tilled land), the field-forest hide (field, meadow, copse) according to royal units and the mountain forest hide ('Rotthufe'). A certain number of Acker or Morgen is possible as such (in the German West 160, also 120 Mg.); 86 Acker have probably never been measured. It must

⁴⁵) Magdeburg jurymen's decision on the road measuring (at Freiberg): Cod. dipl. Sax., II, 12, no. 490; same place, no. 386 (1470, March 16) footnote.

⁴⁶) J. Leipoldt, Colonization, p. 186 (Burkersdorff).

be assumed that the basis was either a changed Rotthufe of 160 Mg. or a number of 90 Acker (180 Mg.). The deviation from the Saxonian Acker is explained by the size of the measuring unit.

The number of 90 iugera has been ascertained for the royal hide also elsewhere. It is a unit of the royal hide which was applied by the Saxonian kings⁵⁰. The area of the royal hide was computed by A.Meitzen; he came to a figure of 47-51, on the average 48 ha. It is not certain, however, that this was a real standard, a Reich unit. In the country between Saale and Neisse the first available and comprehensible documents from the time of the kings of Franconian descent (Taucha near Weissenfels and Goerlitz on former royal estate (180 Prussian Morgen each)) indicate such a figure, on precolonized soil, but not in the forest mountains. On the basis of the surveying of the 100 royal hides in the Fleissen Forest in 1143 we obtain only 27.63 ha at the utmost for the hide according to the mentioned area⁵². This can be interpreted as a figure of 90 Mg.; it can be compared only with one of the largest Franconian forest hides. A solution of the difficulty can be found in the assumption of a fully comprehensible development of the measuring units or in the progress from the royal hide of the Franconian period which keeps to the smaller unit, to the more comprehensive unit of the Stauffer time. The best known hide measured according to royal rods is the march hide of the Dutch settlement near Bremen (1106) which Meitzen has taken as his main basis⁵³. If it is slightly modified, it can

47) Compare L.Naumann, Village and Fields of Flemmingen (with map sketch), no year is given, and A.Meitzen, Settlement and Agriculture III, no. 115, p. 379 and following (Hersfeld tithe land). In both cases the result is a relationship to the royal rod, hitherto not known. At Flemmingen the Acker is 10 ellis wide = 56.6 m, this is 12 royal rods at 4.7 m each; the hide covers 12 (originally 24) Acker. The part of the 13 small hides at Bischdorf West of Merseburg, 2 in each of the three fields, is $2 \frac{1}{4}$ Rhenish rods (at 3.77 m) wide; the fields have the shape of long royal hides; they had probably $24 \times 2 \frac{1}{2}$ rods, this is 2 royal rods.

48) On the basis of the Morgen the calculation is as follows: In the case of a Morgen of 160 (4×40) sq. r. as it is frequently applied in Thuringia, Hesse and in the areas of the central part of the Rhine, we find for 80 Mg. (half of 160) at a width of 24 rods a length of $533 \frac{1}{2}$, with an accessory piece (Gottbevat) of $6 \frac{2}{3}$ r = 540 r which corresponds to the scale of the 'Franconian' hide according to the ell scale 12×270

it gives us the measure and layout of those hides in our country, or of their halves (24 rods wide, 450 rods long with an area of appr. 24ha) from which the above described size ratios of the Franconian hide measure result, when another rod unit is taken⁵⁴. An extension to the greater hide size can be explained by the infiltration into areas which are still uncolonized in the wooded mountains. We can see a certain manifoldness of measuring units; the general scheme takes shape only in a gradual manner. The assumption that the standard size of the royal hide has been known in this country - although not over the entire territory - can be considered substantiated. - Let us again look over the above mentioned types of hides. The most common hide has 30 Saxonian Acker; It is one third of a royal hide. A variation is the 36 Acker hide. Approximately one quarter of the royal hide would be 21 or 24 Acker; this type of hide is actually found in the Northwest of Saxony. This does not mean that these types of hide must be deduced from the royal hide. Their origin must be judged in a different manner. The small hide is a hide with 12 Acker, particularly in the Northwest of Saxony on best soil, especially in the old regions. It did not come from the royal hide. It is only a hide for purposes of calculation realized by the number of Acker; it has no connection with the shape of the terrain. It is not a unit which is taken as basis for the measuring of the hides.

We come to a scale of hides with a ratio which can also be found in other parts of Germany. The corresponding hides were used also in the regions in the Eastern part of the Alps the colonization of which was encouraged by the Ottonian rulers.

In other countries the hide size corresponds to a certain rural and social grouping of the population. On the other hand it must be borne in mind that there were also other factors involved, above all the quality of the soil which can outbalance certain differences, local customs of colonization and the unification of several hides in one hand.

For the understanding of the property situation we have

to study also the grouping of the size units of rural (peasant) property characterized by standard types in which the actual property sizes are combined. The utility value is not covered by this: even if the size of the areas is the same in the lowlands and in the mountains, in old regions and in new territories, there are differences in regard to location and soil value. In spite of this we can make an attempt to examine the problem. In a historic approach we keep to the hide standards of the number of Acker according to the Saxonian state wide measure, although we can see that they have not got the same economic importance.

Group	Designation	Average number of Acker	Surface of area (ha)	Average
I	Smallest property	3-4 A.	1.65 - 2.20	- 2 ha
II	Smallest property (small peasants)	5 - 6; 9 A.	2.75; 3.30; 4.95	2 - 5 ha
III	Medium-sized property (Medium peasants)			
a)	lower group	12; 18 A.	6.60; 9.9	6 - 10 ha
b)	intermediate group	24; 36; 36 A.	13.20; 16.50; /19.80	12 - 20 ha
c)	upper group	42 - 45 A.	23.10 - 24.75 26.40	21 - 26 ha
IV	Large peasant property (big peasants)	50 - 80 A.	27.5; 44.0	27 - 45 ha
B I	Small manors	48 - 90 A.	26.40; 49.5	26 - 50 ha
B II	Large manors	more than 90 A.	more than 50 ha	more than 50 ha

48) continued: double rods. For 90 Mg. (45 double Mg. or Acker the same measure is obtained with the basic unit 155 (4 x 36) sq.r. and with a 15fold length of the sides; Otherwise such a Mg. is not customary. The situation is similar on the Rhine and in the regions along the central parts of the Elbe, where the Morgen of 150 (5x30) is customary; in this case the length of the side is 18fold (Mg. 30 r.), it would have to be assumed, however, that the width is only 24 instead of 25 r, and that one remained without being counted (privet?). Incidentally, 25 r. at 4.5 m (112.5) are almost the same as 24 r at 4.6 (110.4), at 4.7 (112.8 m). If a Morgen of 120 (4 x 30) is taken as basis, we obtain for 90 Mg. with a width of 24 r with a 15fold side length only a length of 450 r; if the area is measured with a royal rod (4.7 m), we obtain 23.96 ha, comp. with 43 Sax. Acker: 23.65 ha. The extension to 540 shorter rods of the side length, with a somewhat shorter width, is quite intelligible.

/ sq.r.

Compared with this we have the following rural units in the agrarian statistic:

1. less than 2 ha (dwarf farms)
2. 2 - 5 ha (farms of small peasants)
3. 5 - 20 ha (medium-size farms)
4. 20 - 100 ha (large farms)
5. more than 100 ha (large agricultural units)

The differences of the details are noteworthy, but the general difference between the two lists of units are strikingly small; this is evidence for the natural tenacity and internal soundness of the agricultural economy.

b) Types of Cultivation

The rural economy is dependent upon the agrarian order which has been established. We have to study the institutions of the economy as far as it is necessary for the understanding of the fields. In particular, we have to know the types of cultivation, because the kind of field division corresponds to it.

In the earliest tradition we can find all types of cultivation: field and garden, meadow, pasture and forest (copse, bush) and special uses. The terms which are used in the documents are mostly formal versions, so that it is not possible to get a clear conception of the relationship of the different uses toward each other. Pasture and forest took a greater place at the beginning than it was the case later on. It has not been

- 49) Re the problem of the royal hide and its measure units compare H.v.Loesch, On the Size of the German Royal Hides (Quarterly for Hist. of Soc. and Ec. Aff. XXII, 64 and following). - L.Hauptmann, Hide Sizes in the Bav. Tribe and Col. Area (Quarterly f. Soc. and Ec. Hist., XXI, 386 and following). - Meitzen, in the above mentioned place, III, encl. 124; 131. - W.Levac, Studies on Pettau III (Bull. Anthr. Soc., Vienna, 35); also A.Dopsch, The Older Social and Ec. Order of the Alpine Slavs (1909), p. 63 and following.
- 50) Dipl. Otto III, 154 (994, Nov. 24); L.Hauptmann, in the above mentioned place, p. 406 and following.
- 51) Meitzen, Colonization and Agriculture III, p. 430, 437; Atlas Vol. no. 131. Comp. H.v.Loesch, Mag. Soc. f. Hist. Silesia, vol. 63, p. 52 and following. (The counter points are not entirely convincing.)
- 52) W.Schlesinger, The Schoenburg Regions, p. 53 and f. - The doc. (1143) is not without fault: a conclusion to the size of the area which had not been quite empty before, and to the size of the hides, is not completely safe.

ascertained in what way the soil was used in prehistoric times, whether the field-forest economy (with deciduous grooves) and the field-grass economy which is vividly described by the more recent research, has actually been in existence in olden times, although much has been found about the cultivation and the tilling tools from the findings in the soil. The type of economy prevailing in the times of old Sorbic settlements and still under the early German rule has mainly been extensive. An important part was played by the forest products. Honey and the delivery of pigs appear in some areas as specially imposed tributes. The collection of forest bee honey was an important trade. Also later on beekeeping was very important, particularly in those areas which had been colonized from the old Wend times onward: near the large hides Northeast of the Elbe (around Pulsmitz), particularly with light pine-trees with 'Erika' heath. Elsewhere cattle-breeding brought profit where vast deciduous forests were open to cultivation, particularly in the Northwest where oak and beech trees were predominant, where moors did not impair such use in the meadow forest. Field cultivation did not lack entirely. If the legend reports of the Holy fish-pond near Lommatzsch saying that it would predict the coming fertile period through wheat⁵⁵, the fact is reflected in this that wheat cultivation was done on the loess covered Lommatzsch area at that time as it is today a tract of preferred wheat cultivation. Payments were made in wheat which have to be traced back to the earliest organization of the German castle ward constitution⁵⁶. The second main crop was oats. Rye and barley were known from the past.

53) Meitzen, in the above mentioned place, encl. 86 and 118.- Acc. to doc. evidence the march hide is 30 r wide, 720 long, of measured with the royal rod. This covers 180 Mg. at 120 sq. r. In an other form (30 x 4 = 24 x 5): 24 r wide, 900 or 450 r long.

54) See above p. 211 and 224

55) Thietmar, Chron. I 3.

56) Re the guard wheat see the inf. given in the official tierrier of Meissen a.o.

The selection of the field crop was different depending on the type of soil; this can be seen sometimes by the payment systems which have persevered till our times. It would be possible to describe the distribution of the different types of grain from the early German periods onward. In regard to the tillingtools, it can be assumed that the Slavs have used a simple plough as a kind of hook (radlo) here in our country as well as elsewhere. However, no evidence is available for this. Some findings in the soil have shown that iron ploughshares of a certain longish shape which were related to those used in Bohemia, were not unknown in our country⁵⁷. In the economy of the Slav population fishing has played a specially important part. There were settlements the inhabitants of which were engaged in this trade exclusively.

With the spreading of German civilization and colonization a perfected method of agricultural work was introduced. The goal was increased production for self-supply and furthermore, in a certain sense the profit from the sale of agricultural products on the urban markets and in the Elbe traffic. The main branch of agriculture became the cultivation of the soil. If the soil conditions were favorable, the greater part of the soil is used for this. Only smaller parts were used for meadows, pasture and wood. The economy on the manors and peasant estates was geared to the three-fallow system; field tilling and the grazing of cattle alternated. It cannot be ascertained, whether a two-field economy has ever been customary. Other types of economy survived or became customary in regions, which favored the field grass economy. In times of devastation, for instance after the Thirty Years War, the population resorted to more imperfect types of cultivation. A re-

57) Joh. Kretzschmar, Origin of the Ploughshares of early History in Saxony (Prehistoric Saxony, 1940, p. 45 and following).

gular division of the fields according to a certain economic plan was created. More efficient tilling equipment was used. The wheel-plough which was known to the Germans was introduced now; it had a share which dug deeply into the soil and turned the earth clods. This made it possible to use also heavy but more profitable types of soil. Cattle breeding was adapted to the needs of land tilling. It was geared more towards the breeding of domesticated animals. The free pasture economy became less important. The gardening became more refined, particularly the cultivation of fruit trees. The estates of the monasteries and of the pastorates provided the model for this, the manors as well. Wine was cultivated on suitable soil, particularly in the Elbe region. Fishing and bee-keeping continued, but they were now considered as sidelines. Besides the profit made from the honey of the forest bees the bee-keeping in the garden at the house developed. Besides wild fishing people were now interested in the fishing in artistically built ponds especially on the estates of the monasteries.

The development of agriculture under the German influence spread to the descendants of the Slav population, as far as the latter was able to survive. Differences in the type of cultivation remained, but gradually an evenly high standard of soilcultivation spread to all tracts, where the type of soil permitted it. For another generation traditional evidence does not give us a clear picture of the type of economy prevailing. There are only individual data on the type of grain, on cattle breeding and the yield of sidecultivation, sometimes also on the the type and location of the cultivation. Only in more modern times after agricultural publications had come out on the basis of local experiences, after the writing down of village laws and the rich files of the state and ecclesiastical administration the conception on the rural economy becomes clearer and more precise. The older field books com-

plete our knowledge, so that a briefly summarizing presentation of the principles of rural cultivation can be given up to the time, when the trends in favor of an agrarian reform took shape⁵⁸.

Numerous principles which were applied in the organization of the work on the manors (adjacent farms) and on the peasant farms, showed similarities, particularly in those cases where the property appurtenances of the large estates were located amidst of peasant property. But there was an essential difference between them in regard to the freedom of use, especially in those cases, where the manorial property was separated from the peasant property forming large estate land. On such property the estate administration was able to organize the work according to its desire and according to economic purposes; it made the divisions to attain greatest possible profit, and it determined the types of cultivation. This is why we find some progress of agricultural work on large estates at an early stage of development. Old tradition persevered, however, with a certain tenacity. On the peasant property the free use of the land was limited on most of the fields because the pieces of land were located in bell-mong and were not always accessible from field paths. There was the necessity to respect the work of the neighbors, a so-called mild 'Flurzwang'. In fields which were divided into full hides or hide parts which were arrayed in rows, the peasant had greater freedom of use. It was only limited by the fact that the pasture privileges were valid for a certain period; this was binding for both the holders of manors on peasant property and for the landed property of the peasant neighbors; at times there were privileges of the peasants for the temporary pasture of manorial land. There were so-called

58) In regard to the following compare C. Dame, The Dev. of Rural Economy... (1911), p. 112 and f., 118 and f., 137 and f. - Ermisch-Wuttke, Households in adjacent Farms (1910), also H. Wiemann, Visitation of the Electorate Farms adjacent to the Manors, 1571 (1940). Comp. E. O. Schulze, Colonization, chap. VI, p. 352 and f. - O. Boehme, The Dev. of Agr. on the Royal Sax. Dom. (1890). - O. Trautmann, The Ostra Adjacent Land (1918). - O. Ackermann, Dev. of Agr. of Schoenburg Domains of Wechselburg and Penig from 16th cent. to the present (1911). - Inf. is contained in descr. of adjacent estates, village orders and field books; pertinent entries are also on field maps.

common pasture pieces (frequently along the borders of the precincts), where joint privileges existed, mostly in regard to the use of these pieces for purposes of pasture; these privileges were common among neighboring communities on the one hand or given to the manor and the peasants.

The dominating system was the three-fallow order. The fields which were used for tilling, were divided under economic aspects into three 'fields' or 'types' as it was said here by the people. The West German term 'Esch' ^(Oesch) is not known here; the South German word 'Zelge' is known only at certain locations⁵⁹. The entire area was divided into three fields with alternating cultivation. In the case of the large field areas it was divided into several area sections of which some were combined by groups to form a 'field' in the sense of an economic unit. According to Saxonian custom the three-fallow-system had a three-year turn: the cultivation of winter grain, summer grain, and the fallow period. The field which was tilled for the winter was prepared during the months during which it was fallow: around Whitsun or midsummer day, depending on the quality of the soil, the field was broken up, then dunged and stirred, and towards the beginning of fall it was ploughed for the seed. After the harvest the peasants soon began to work for the summer seed. At first the ground was ploughed for another time and the stubbles were turned upside down. Then, at an appropriate time, the stirring followed, and in spring, (around Easter, preferably before) the field was ploughed for the seed, and then came the harrow. It was recommended to till the land already prior to the Lenten time (therefore 'Fastenfeld'). During the third year after the harvest of the summer grain the field had a rest. It was not used for cultivation; it was fallow. Even in such period some work was done on it. The earth had to be broken up, either early in spring or around Whitsun, depending on the type of soil. Wheat and

59) In the Western tracts, under Schoenburg rule.

and rye were taken for the winter field, and winter grain was also sown. The summer grain consisted of barley and especially oats. The cultivation of mixed grain was still customary. A certain progress was brought by the 'Besoesmerung' of the fallow land; it was the cultivation of part of the fallow fields with leguminous plants (peas, sweet-peas, lentils) and other plants (for feeding, tissue plants, oil fruits and others for the trade). But such use was limited and not permitted otherwise, because the use of the fallow land appeared endangered by this for the pasture. Besides such land which was used according to the three-fallow-system, there were smaller field pieces which were situated mostly outside the regularly divided large field sections; year after year they were tilled and used mostly for the planting of garden plants. Later on such type of land was called 'year field' or 'garden field' to distinguish it from the 'Arten'. In the 16th century some improvements had been made on the three-fallow-system, at least in the fields of the adjacent farms.

Besides the three-field-economy other types of agriculture were in use. In the case of fields where the field pieces were located in an irregular bellmong, it is expressly stated at times that the three 'Arten' are not observed. A free use was made of the land which, however, must not have been more perfect either. Field systems of another type were also customary. In regions with favorable soil and an advanced economy it was left to the 'Hauswirt' (manager of the house) to divide his land into three, four, five parts for the tilling, depending on the opportunity offered for this by the fields on the adjacent land; this was done each year. The fallow area was greatly diminished. Progress in the direction of a free tilling of the soil with a crop rotation up to 7 years have been ascertained for the 16th century around Dresden⁶⁰. On 60) Household economy on adjacent farms.

peasant fields such opportunity was presented only in rare cases, because the compulsory cultivation of certain fields was the obstacle. In unfavorable regions, particularly in the mountains with the rougher climate, a type of economy was possible, which in the use made of the soil, was behind the three-fallow-system. The necessity to select other periods of time had the result that the ratio of cultivated field to fallow land was different. We are permitted to assume that it was a kind of field grass economy, which, however, observed certain rules. Because of the condition of the soil in the mountainous regions the simpler 'hook' was preferred as tilling equipment as it had been the case in the past. Unfortunately, it is hardly possible to ascertain the distribution of the various economic systems for the older periods on the basis of documentary evidence⁶¹. The three-fallow-system was still valid in the early part of the 19th century during the years of preparation of the new land tax system.

Different types of soil were available for cattle breeding, for the feeding of the animals, of the big and small pieces of cattle. Directly near the village residence there were pieces of land with a grass economy as a joint community economy as a meadow. In some villages the yards were built around such meadow. Out in the fields there were permanent pasture pieces which were reserved for the cattle; the people spoke of pastureland. The fields which were intended for the cultivation of the grain, were also used; after the harvest the cattle was driven to the stubble pasture, and during the fallow year it was driven to the fallow pasture. The feeding of the cattle was based essentially on such use made of the pasture under this system of field economy. The pasture privileges played an important part⁶². Special paths were reserved for the run of the cattle (pasture ways, 'Treben', cattle paths (Viebig, Fiebig) and others). The meadows were also

61) In an official register of Colditz in 1626 we find strikingly deviating data on the hide size according to rods and the number of Acker (see above p.222); are they to be interpreted in such a way that only a part of the hides was tilled like the acre land and that the rest of the land was used for pasture and as forest?

62) Klinger, Village and Peasant Rights II 89 and f., 199 and f.

used for hay; they were either individual property or common meadows which were distributed by lot, as draw lots, for use for a certain period of time. According to the type of meadow and the quality of the soil a distinction was made between summer meadows which gave only the first cut, the hay, and meadows with two cuts which gave also a second crop; the latter were frequently called fall meadows. If the soil was of particularly high quality several cuts were made. In cattle breeding the customs of the old community economy were preserved. The cattle heads were private property but the cattle was driven to the pasture in herds. This was done from the yard of the estate and also from the yards of the peasants. The shepherd was in the service of the local community. The house of the shepherd with the shepherd garden was property of the village. The wage of the shepherd was paid by the members of the community in grain or cash. The breeding cattle usually belonged to the villager; the breeding and the control over the cattle was done by the neighbors who took turns; this was a kind of community service. The compensation for this was the common use of the meadow (for instance on the ox meadow). For the pastoral estate 'iron cows' were frequently put into the yards of the peasants; the peasants had no permission to decrease the number of these animals. On the manorial estates horse breeding was popular, to a lesser extent also the breeding of cows. Sheep breeding increased; since the end of the Middle Ages the sale of wool on the urban markets, where the cloth trade prospered, or the sale abroad was on the increase. It brought the country increasing profits. On the peasant farms draught animals (horses) were kept, but cattle breeding was more concerned with the breeding of milch-cattle and pig raising. Of course, there was also small cattle, particularly among the poorer peasants in the village, among the gardeners and house owners. The extent to which cattle was kept among the peasant neighbors was not unlimited; it was regulated mostly through local tradition, manorial or neighborly order as it was found in the village orders. The same applies to the keeping of poultry, particularly in regard to pigeons.

Cattle breeding was done on the private property or on the basis of a lease of yards or adjacent farms. Big studs with land for this was probably owned by the ruler of the country only. Yards which were especially intended for the breeding of cows, cannot be ascertained for Saxony. For sheep breeding entire adjacent farms, so-called sheep-farms, were established frequently, with fields of their own, and extensive pasture privileges; The shepherd who took over the nursing of the sheep herd, frequently on the basis of a partial lease, had much responsibility and in olden times his position was well respected. The increasing activity of gardening brought important yield in favorable tracts of the country, although the space awarded to it, was not extensive. But the gardens which belonged to the manorial estates, were very extensive. They were both kitchen gardens and ornamental gardens; lateron, there were entire parks which had developed from the ornamental gardens or had been created as a new area. Each peasant yard, even the pieces of land in which the ~~the~~ gardners and house owners had their house, had their gardens around the house which were located behind the farm-buildings toward the fences of the village or the open fields. Near the house the gardens showed vegetable and medicinal herbs , also flowers, leguminous plants and bushes with berries. Then there was the orchard, usually a grass covered with improved fruit-trees. The cultivation of grain is also mentioned at times, only to a small extent , of course, in the gardens; lateron, also potatoes were cultivated. In numerous villages it became customary to put up small gardens in front of the house toward the village lane or the village place. Pieces of the common place or meadow in the middle of the village were divided up into small gardens and used for fruits and vegetables. Usually the community had cabbage-fields near the village which were divided and given out to the various peasants entitled to it (cabbage pieces). A plant garden was usually also in the possession of the community (seminarium), where seed plants

and young trees were raised , before they were used further. A peculiarity of some villages (near Leipzig) were the cabbage gardens or cabbage pieces the yield of which helped to supply the towns. In the terrain there were also field gardens as we have mentioned above in the description of the field cultivation. At some place it became customary to plant fruit-trees along the edges of the fields (in the valley of the Elbe), particularly in tracts where there was a division into blocks and small field pieces, but hardly in the case of larger quadrangular fields, where only the roads were planted with trees. This custom helped preserve the division of the fields.

Gardening is complemented by wine-growing in climatically favorable locations on suitable soil⁶³. In older times it was spread much more (more North along the Elbe) and also at places where later on, when the taste of the people became more refined, the peasant did not adhere to it any longer. Characteristic for the growing of wine was usually the division of property into very small parcels. We can even speak of dwarf property. The planting of the tendrils was done like in the gardens, on the small fields , where they were dispersed on wine land. There were also fields (near Dresden in the Loessnitz district, at Spaar near Meissen) the greater part of which was used for wine-growing and even for the planting of tendrils like in the fields. (Weinboehla near Koetzschenbroda). On such fields a division into very small and narrow pieces was prevalent.

Finally, there was copse. More extensive and compact copse was found on the manorial property; the peasant was usually smaller. In the fields of the old open land there were mostly small dispersed copse areas; More portly they were in the terrain which was cleared from forest during the period of cultivation. At the edges forest pieces were left, where there was also larger village property. In the case of some village terrain, also of the lowland, forest belonged to the formerly more compact marches, probably as part of the bordering vast forest. In the depressions of the country the deciduous trees and bushes were

predominant, partly with big stems (oak, beech-trees and others) from which copse was obtained, partly among low bushes, (alders, hazel-bush etc.) which brought at least young copse wood and twigs. Stocks of coniferous plants were found in the plains and in rolling terrain. In older times there was more mixed forest. In higher altitudes the coniferous forest was always predominant, but formerly it was more interrupted by mixed wood and deciduous trees. Besides the yield in wood for purposes of building and burning (heating), the forest bed and the berries the copse was good for hunting. The latter was reserved to the noble gentlemen. Hare hunting was at times the privilege of the lords, but sometimes the peasants took also part. They were permitted to engage in the netting of larches; they were also permitted to hunt small poultry as far as governmental restrictions did not interfere which intended the protection of the animals. The vast forests were situated outside the field terrain; they were mostly the property of the ruler; at times they were also in the property of the manorial lords from which the state forests emerged which are separated from the fields still at this day, here ^{was possible} forestry on a large scale (use of wood, hunting) and in connection with it the timber-floating,⁶⁴

For centuries the traditional methods of agricultural work continued to exist; gradually improvements were made, but there were also set-backs. Approximately since the middle of the 18th century trends were noticed which intended a basic change. The spread of the cultivation of the potatoe which was no longer a garden plant only but also an important food item for the entire population, gave a cause for them. The potatoe spread from the Southwest, from the Vogtland (toward the end of the 17th century) but simultaneously also from the Northwest; it became more

63) K.v.Weber, On the History of Wine-Growing in Saxony (Arch. f. Sax. Hist. X 1 and following.) - Wine-growing places are entered on the Oeder-Zimmermann-map. - The Dresden Illustrated Text of the Sachsenspiegel, publ. by K.v. Amira, 1901 and f., table 65 and following, on state law II 58, Expl. I 423 and following.

important, when it had proven that it was a welcome substitute of bread during the years of the famine around 1771⁶⁵. The cultivation of the potato did not adapt itself to the customary three-fallow-system, when larger areas were available than it was possible during the summer work done on the fallow land. But the endeavors to reform were mainly based on general considerations in regard to the then economic development⁶⁶. Progress made in the observation of nature, provided an opportunity for this. Trends aiming at economic reforms were very active; they were partly encouraged by the government, for instance through prizes for contests which the Department of Economic Affairs organized. Important achievements were the work of individual pioneers, such as the well-known Schubart, who was given the honoring by-name of a Noble von Kleefeld by Emperor Joseph II. He tested the cultivation of feed herbs and the advantages of stable feeding on the estates, among others at Wuerschwitz near Zeitz, at Prohlis and Kreischa (near Dresden)⁶⁷. In the fields of science and in practical respects the Economic Society at Leipzig under Leske, the first Professor of Economics at the University⁶⁸. An increase of the yield was apparent. It concerned the products of the fields and the improvement of cattle. At the same time it became clear that the existing agrarian order presented an obstacle: the three-fallow-system, particularly the privilege of pasture, stubble and fallow pasture, impaired the application of the new methods with increased culture of forage and the crop rotation. Resistance was formed among the holders of knightly estates and among the peasants. A general application of the agricultural reform was not possible. In Sa-

64) Gebauer, The Forests of the Kingdom of Saxony (German Geogr. Bull., 1896, p.18 and following.) - Frz. Mammen, The Forests of the Kingdom of Saxony (Mag. Stat. Office, 51, p.225 and following). - Joh. Siegel, The Changes in the Forest Pattern in the Eastern Erzgebirge in the Course of History (Tharandt Forest Yearbook 78, 1927).

66) R. Wittke, The Servant Orders, p.174 and following. - v.d. Goltz, Hist. of German Agr., I, 389 and following, 447 and following.

65) Chr. E. Langenthal, Hist. of Germ. Agr. 3.A. (1890). - Outline of Sax. Aff., p.221 and following.

67) General German Biography, 32, p.602 and following: Johann Schubart.

xony conditions as they were handed down by tradition continued to exist on the whole, although here and there some improvements were made in regard to the three-fallow-system and also partly with the help of voluntary mergers which represented a general condition for a more perfected type of economy up to the general agrarian reform which had been gradually prepared prior to 1830 and took shape during the following decade.

68) K.Kohlsdorf, History of the Leipzig Economic Society (1913).

Chapter III

The Basic Shapes of the Settlements

Among the numerous settlement places with their fields spread all over the country each of them shows a characteristic shape which can be interpreted in terms of adaptation to the terrain and the historically changing creation by the hand of man. If we look at the basic principles, we can see typical shapes which exist one besides the other and determine the picture of the terrain in the same manner; they may also be located in an irregular manner; often they have a clear and simple form; they can be recognized even in areas where a composed pattern had arisen as a result of a long process of local history. It is a main problem of the science of colonization which has been ardently studied in order to establish these elementary forms of settlement, to describe them clearly and to appreciate them out of their natural and historic dependence. Historic research plays a special part, because the sifting of the nuclear shapes from which the younger formations have emerged, are traced back to the simpler basic forms which makes it possible to understand the nature of the layout of a village and of its terrain. 1)

In Saxony the solution of such problems is facilitated by the nature of the region and its history. The country rises from the edge of the wide open low plain to a slightly rolling region and to hilly mountains which show summits or piling rocks, but are characterized by high plateaus and long mountain ridges with long flat valley basins; here and there

1) Re the types of settlements see W. Ebert, Rural Settlement Types in the Germ. East. Preface by R. Koetzschke, 1936 (s. also Bull. for Germ. Reg. Hist. 83, 5 and f.) - H. Schlenger, Remarks on the Res. on East Germ. Village Shapes (Geogr. Mag. 38, p. 347). - Ad. Klaar, Settlement Shapes in Austria (Bull. f. Germ. Reg. Hist. 84, p. 108 and f.; 1938). - R. Koetzschke, The Settlement Shapes of the Germ. North and Southeast under the Aspect of Pol. and Soc. Hist. (Germ. Eastern Res. I, p. 362 and f.; 1942). - A. Krenzlin, Mapping of Germ. Settlement Shapes in the Germ. Region (Rep. Germ. Reg. Aff. III, 1944). Example: Field Books of Remse, 1787: Klein-Chursdorf (buildings acc. to circle, but with intervals), Oertelshain (one line), Oberwiera, Oberlungwitz, Weidensdorf (in a certain circumference fairly close to each other), Tettau, Harthau; then Gerichshain near Leipzig (1779, village lane), Altendorf near Chemnitz (1781, in two rows), Gersdorf near Leisnig (1773, two long rows, village pl. or comm. area with lane), Kroebern 1774/90, Alt-Leisnig 1784, Lastau 1773 a.o. Re field books see LHA, Fin. Arch. Rep. LIX C. Sec. IIIa.

gorges have cut into the ground. The history of colonization has had the result that here in an area of separable old settlements and largely predominant German colonial settlements, the simple basic shapes of the village layout come clearly to the fore to a much greater extent than in other German regions. Still these days the basic shapes are clearly seen; they were sufficiently clear prior to the changes made in the settlement pattern during the recent past.

1. The Village Layout.

The settlement pattern of a village is determined by the layout and the vertical projection. It must always be borne in mind that the houses and the side-buildings which present the picture of the village to the onlooker, go beyond the lines of the layout or ground plan; otherwise a near-to-life impression of the entire village cannot be given.

a) Yard and House in the Village Picture.

The smallest unit, the cell in the building of the rural settlement is the ground on which the house is found, if we look at the village from the point of view of colonization, and it is the yard with all its accessories, if we look at it from the aspect of agricultural economy. In the older field books and still more in the records made of the inventory in early period of history, when the first attempts were made to reform agriculture, there are brief descriptions with information on the residential house with one or more storeys, often with built-in side-rooms, chimney-box, additions (baking oven) etc., on out-buildings as stables, barns, sheds, on the yard space, where the water-pump and the dove-cote are located, on the adjacent garden, seldom on the architecture, and hardly ever on the basic shape. However, these data are aides which help us build up a conception of the peasant property. Only older pictures since the 16th century, some on maps in the 17th

and on attached sheets of the 18th century, hand drawings and genre pictures up to modern times can give us a certain idea what the yards and the houses looked like. The field books of the general survey of 1835 and the following years are less illustrative. The size of the tilled ground, the number and value of the buildings are entered here, but nothing is said about the ground-plan; however, the field sketches give us the layout in its contours. Creations of graphic art from those times, particularly the popular presentation by Ludwig Richter's characteristic hand and photographs of still existing old buildings as well as ethnographic observations of our days help shape the picture². Typical shapes of of the ground-plan have to be distinguished. The most simple one shows a longitudinal building, with out-buildings, where the residential rooms and the stables are united (stable house for living). We find such arrangement particularly in the Wend tracts of Upper Lusatia; at least this was the situation when the field sketches were drawn. However, the house building according to German methods has spread over the entire country a long time ago and penetrated also into the residential areas of the Wend speaking population. According to the original plan of colonization, there are two main types of layout of the peasant farm; they are dependent upon the terrain. Most spread is the type, where the residential and utility buildings are grouped around a yard space, the 'Hofreite' ('Hofrhede'). It is mostly found in the plains but also in hilly country and the flat valley depressions of the mountainous areas. Most common is the so-called Middle-German farm with a rectangular or square-like formation in the middle of the yard space around which the residential house and the farm-buildings are grouped. The four-sided farm is built in such a way that all four sides of the buildings meet each other, but the circle is not completely closed. The so-called three-sided farm shows buildings on two sides and on the backside. Among these types of layout

2) O. Gruner, House and Yard in the Sax. Village (Sax. Aff., publ. Muttke, p. 404 and f.) - Outline of Sax. Ethnography and Folklore (1932) p. 48 and f.: K. Sommer, House Building in Historic Times. - Br. Schier, The German House (The German Folklore, publ. A. Spamer, 1934) p. 504 and f.; Same, Central German Bull. f. Folklore, XII, p. 92 and f. (1937).

the residential house looks toward the frontside, mostly with the gable, but it can turn the wide gutter-side outside at times. Opposite the residential house there is the house for the peasants who have retired. Between the two there is the gateway, often a portly building with arches and wide gate wings. At the side there is the smaller portal for the pedestrians. The stables are grouped around the yard. The cow stable is located adjacent to the residential house; the horse stable is only very seldom besides the residential house. The backside towards the grass garden and the fields is taken by the barn with the thrashing floor and the recess for sheaves, sometimes with a thoroughfare or exit to the field. If the layout of the village requires another type of shape, the farm is triangular or of an entirely irregular shape. In the case of more narrow farms it is possible that only two sides are developed (stretched shape) or one broadside is bent in a rectangular way. Frequently, the farm is equipped with a small front garden; in the back it has always a house garden with beds, vegetables and medicinal herbs and other plants (cabbage garden), with berry bush and some dessert fruit; often there is a larger garden with grass ('Grassgarten') and numerous fruit-trees. The whole is surrounded by a fence; there is a hedge towards the fields. Another main shape which is situated mainly in mountainous regions with uneven terrain, lacks the closed yard space shape. The buildings are loosely built one besides the other, on an angular ground, often in a similar grouping as in the case of the Central German farm of the plains, but at times in a kind of dispersion. The layout of the farms makes the impression of an intravert autonomy of the peasants; in the mountains is closer to nature; in the plains with their traffic they are fenced for protection, because they are exposed to enemy attacks.

In this connection we are concerned with the appreciation of agriculture; therefore, the techniques of house building

are not described in detail; we will confine ourselves to a few main characteristics. The selection of the building material depends on what nature offers in these parts. In olden times, when there was still much forest, the use of wood was predominant; therefore, the block unit was more customary than in our times, at least in the part, where the family of the peasant lived. Where more portly and more solid building wood was available, particularly in the mountainous regions, the use of wood has remained to a greater extent. Loam was used for the building of houses at an early date, particularly in the plains (parts consisting of loam and straw, with twigs); this custom spread more and more. Along the outside walls this framework showed pales and struts, cross-bars, often above the thresholds of stone on the bottom. The sense for ornamentation which prevailed among the German peasants, saw to it that there was a certain design. At the beginning the buildings were only level, on the ground; the ground-plan of the house had three parts: floor with a fireplace amidst/^{the house} ('house' in the more limited sense), on the one side the room with a stove (later on it was a stove of Dutch tiles), on the other side the stable with a device for the fodder. Under a rising civilization the increasing need gave rise to parts which were built in or added on top and to the building of an upper floor at the main house with the 'hall' and the chambers. These were the peasant houses at an early stage of development. The use of thick planks was customary at that time and it is still so today: in front of the room which was erected as a block unit, there is row of pales with frames, cross-bars and fillets, ground-level construction and with two storeys, frequently with ornamental forms through arches and carved parts. This type of construction is found in several tracts of Saxony, in regions which have been populated by Germans from the very beginning, and also in regions with still Wend speaking population, but most frequently now in Upper Lusatia where it weaves a characteristic trait into the landscape. But it cannot be considered as a custom which was originally Wend. The pales

are somewhat advanced and in this way a kind of porch is formed. In Saxony the walls of the houses consist of tiles, also on the out-buildings. Later on, the use of the costly quarry stones have become customary. By the house the scenery of the village was mainly determined by the roof. In our regions it is the saddle roof; the woodwork of the roof is made of rafters. The gable is usually in front toward the road. Mostly the woodwork of the roof is steep and pointed, at times it is hipped; a dwarf hip is seldom. Formerly the roof was covered only by straw layers or reed. Then came the shingles, and later on the solid roof tiles because of the danger of fire. At the side wall of the house toward the yard there is often a passage, a porch (gallery) which makes it easy to enter the rooms on the upper floor. At times the stairs lead up from the outside. There were also numerous and manifold ornaments in color and as wood carvings, also ironmounting, with the name of the builder and with the year, with meaningful sayings and sign-painting, although the latter was more prosaic and less sensual than in Upper Germany.

The reputation which the farm enjoyed varied according to the prosperity of the owner. In old documents, especially in periods of decay, the defects and the poverty were often described with vehement lament; there was some intention to obtain a more advantageous taxation from the state and the manorial authorities. The farms were not so impressive as we find them towards the end of the 18th century or after the agrarian reforms. The basic ground-plan has not changed; we can still make use of the ground-plan map of our field map for historic conclusions.

Far more portly is the house of the noblemen, the layout of the manorial seat³. Originally, it was simpler; it was at first a peasant farm protected by a fortification, a wall of

3) Examples are given in the 'Descriptive Presentation of the Older Building and Art Monuments of the Kingdom of Saxony' 1882 and following. - The Art Monuments of the Free State of Saxony, vol.1 and following (1929). - H. Groeger, Castle in Saxony (1940).

earth, a plank fence and a ditch. With the increasing significance of the farm as a manor, everything was equipped better and in a more manifold way. The farm was divided into two parts: The residence of the lord was separated from the farm buildings, the adjacent land. The latter became a castle, when feuds were on; in peaceful times, when there was a higher level of civilization and the standard of life was higher, it became a palace. For the purpose of defense the castle of medieval knights was built separately, stressed by its location on a height and protected, wherever water currents or water ditches did not give adequate protection. The ground-plan of these castles showed numerous shapes and always adapted to the ground. In the course of several generations and according to the style prevailing during the different periods, the castles were rebuilt or changed; several storeys were seen rising above irregular ground-plans, the tower, the main building and the hall, and the chapel with rooms around them and manorial rooms in manifold style. But there were also simple castles which remained in the neighborhood of the farm-buildings and which did not surpass the appearance of a portly house. They were similar; the grouping of the rooms in the interior was clearer; toward the outside they were pompous in their architecture, if they were real palaces; when they were planned the idea of defense were not decisive but the factors of usefulness and the desire to create a beautiful building. According to the political and economic order /
of the agriculture of modern times
dominating
these manorial seats were the/center in the village. In the older field books this is often described with great clarity. The field maps show a certain manifoldness in the ground-plans, often in simple, at times also in baroque shapes. The farm yard has often a rectangular or square layout and is surrounded by the buildings for the farm, the residential houses for the administration of the estate and the servants. Buildings for

industrial purposes (breweries, brickworks) were added, whereas the sheep-farms were usually a certain distance away. There were also gardens for various uses. At the palace itself there was usually a pleasure-garden or park. It is the task of the history of art to describe the shaping, especially the ornamental forms of these buildings, but the layout of the economic unit which is formed by the whole, must also be studied.

b) The Different Types of the Village Layout.

Similar to the house and the farm-yard the entity of the locality has already been described by the field book-like recordings of the 17th and 18th centuries, particularly for a region which was characterized by a variety of different types of villages close to each other. The shape of a village with a round ground-plan is described, for instance; it says that it is situated in a basin. We can also read that the village is formed by two rows; the farms are close to each other, but at times they are also situated in a loose row. We have the shape of a lane village and that of a row village here. According to the natural location which is of importance for the peasant, a distinction is made between the winter side and the summer side; or the records speak of a midday or morning side. The main types of the village shapes can be clearly recognized, although they have not been grouped in their manifoldness with basic acuteness⁴. The studies which were made, have not gone further. Information about the geographical distribution of typical village shapes cannot be ascertained. We have ourselves, to create a comparing order; we cannot apply a scheme which has been handed down to us, but we have to examine the older field books and the earliest field maps as well as the general survey from the beginning of the agrarian reform in 1835; here we have also to use younger topographic maps which are more exact in their measuring and which also show the ground⁵.

- 4) Compare the geographic tables of Trenkmann-Zuerner, LHA, Loc. 9763 and following.
5) Re these maps see above Chapter I, Field Maps, at the end.

It is of decisive importance, who a locality is situated in the terrain as an entity, a settlement unit. The smallest unit of village formation, the cell unit of colonization, can represent an entity of living and work by itself. In science this type is called individual settlement. It is the living place itself or it is intended to characterize the manner of colonization in a certain tract. There are two possibilities here: the individual village can be a house with a piece of land, but also a peasant farm or estate, where the purpose of it gives it a definite trait: it can be an adjacent farm or a sheep-farm, a mill, an inn or village tavern, a forest estate, a separate castle or church. Smaller extensions from a greater parental locality mostly remain within the jurisdiction of the community. In terms of topography they must be considered separate; in terms of the history of agriculture they must be considered part of the community, particularly if the property in the fields is situated in the bellmong. In Saxony we find individual houses only in rare cases. Here and there it is dispersed between other types of settlements; but we find it more frequently in higher altitude among recent settlements.

If we group the different types of colonization we have to put the individual settlement opposite the community settlement. In the case of the latter the yards and the ground around the houses are combined to a more or less extensive entity. This type of settlement has also been called collective settlement. For the selection of the location a suitable building site had to be found; the condition of the ground was the first and basic condition. But there was also another factor which had to be considered: the proximity of usable water, above all the possibility of protection, protection against the winds and the weather, against the advancing enemy. This applied to the settlements in early times; after civilization had developed to a greater extent natural disadvantages were outbalanced by measures

of advanced technical knowledge. In old regions the settlement place is often situated at the edge of the fields, because the settlers were looking for a nearby river or brook with its slopes and its bush along the banks. The village may also be on the slopes of a brook edge or imbedded into a spring depression. The importance of such favorable factors remains valid also for later periods of time. But unlike the Wends the German peasants preferred to put the village into the center of the terrain, because the economic factor was the decisive consideration for them: the accessibility of the tillable fields from the village, from the farms; the desired safety was no longer so important in times of peace; safety was obtained by the fences. When we determine the traits of the shape of a village settlement, we have to start with the term 'village space' which is used in the old field books. It covers the residential part with all direct accessories of the farms, also the meadow which is situated here frequently in front of the village, near the beginning of the fields; but it can also be incorporated into the center of the village. Location and shape of the village space are decisive for the shape of the locality. Whatever shape the village space may have, it can form an entity and be closed towards the outside world. This can be achieved by fences and hedges, ditches etc. In modern times the estates in the back are 'walled in'; the border can also be loose or entirely open towards the fields, where the village itself appears as a loosely grouped formation. The differences of the village space are connected with the outlay of the locality. The differences refer to the size of the village, the density of the buildings, the shaping work of the builders. We can, therefore, form a graduation of village shapes.

We start with villages which are situated as an organically grown building unit in a coherent village space. The latter shows no sharp contours against the surrounding fields; the village space is located on an interrupted border projecting here and there like jags. The various living and economic units are situated

one besides the other, without a regularity being recognizable. If their number is small, such small group settlement can be a group of houses or a group of farm-yards or estates, depending on the type of their composition. In science the term 'Hamlet' is used for this. In Saxony this word (Weiler) is not current among the population, but it is recommended to keep to it, because it is brief and intelligible, and introduced in scientific literature. If the hamlet has a peasant trait, we could speak of a peasant hamlet (Bauernweiler) to distinguish it from a mere group of residential houses or a building which is intended for industrial purposes only. If the premises are turned towards each other, so that a round shape is created without a shaping place in the center, then we can speak of a round hamlet which is not exactly the same as a radial village. Depending upon the formation of the village, the old hamlet and the extended hamlet have to be distinguished from each other. Their economic structure and their social setup can be entirely different. The shape does not permit us to conclude that the hamlet is a kin hamlet. The name of the locality can give us an indication; otherwise the historic examination of the problem must find a solution. What has been said about the individual houses also applies to the distribution of the groups of houses in Saxony. The hamlet settlement of the peasants has had a great historic significance. It has given the old regions their look where the Slav village names prevailed; it cannot be called Slav as such; it can also be German-Teutonic. - Larger than a group but mostly also more dense, is the hoard village: a greater number of yards (at least 8 to 10), including house premises. The location of the buildings for living and farming does not show a clear ground-plan. It is like a hoard, loose or dense with smaller groups of yards which can be close together; there are also farms along the approaching roads. The irregular formation of free spaces or places is possible here. Such villages have usually developed from small group settlements or hamlets. With increasing development they expand towards the outside in an irregular manner; inside the village they show greater densi-

tyIn Saxony the hoard village proper is a type of locality which is not found in many places: it has nowhere determined the character of the landscape. But sometimes there are villages here which have the appearance as if they were hoard villages. In reality they are composed of different kinds of basic shapes which have grown into each other. They must be described and judged by their basic elements.

Let us now turn to the closed village ground-plans. They have to be characterized on the basis of the factors which determine the formation of the village and hold together the community. Two of them are of essentially creative significance: a regular place which takes the place in the middle, or a traffic road as the axis of the village. This lets us distinguish between two main types: the place villages and the lane and street villages. Let us first look at the small types of both formations. Characteristic is the village shape of the so-called radial village. Here the houses and farms are close to each other; they surround a round-shaped place in the center which can be empty; but often it has a pond; by having the cattle graze here it is made economically useful. Usually a sole approach which is narrow and easily lockable, leads to it, if no break through is found at another spot. Along the outside edge the radial village is firmly closed by fences and hedges. Trees can reinforce this protection so that the village may appear like a copse or small forest for people who approach the village from the outside. There is no direct access from the house to the fields belonging to it. This is only possible with a special type, that is to say if a radial village is established on soil which has just been cleared from forest. The factor of protection has certainly played a part in this shape. Small differences of shape can be observed. The shape of the interior place and therewith of the entire village can be like a circle (ring village), or it is oval, horse-shoe-shaped or hose-like. The building space can be doubled (double radial village). Extension buildings can be added with different shapes. The interpretation of the radial village, particularly in national respect, is controversial. In Saxony there is the genuine radial village as it was described above, particularly in the Western tracts, along the border toward Thuringia which has formerly belonged to the great Franco-nian Reich. It can be interpreted as a borderland shape. In the

region of Meissen the small closed radial villages can be found in smaller numbers only. Other more loose shapes (round hamlets) are more frequent there; there is the possibility that they have come into being on account of a more recent loosening. The development is similar in the Vogtland and in the area around Bautzen. The opinion has been voiced that the round-shaped castle walls have been a model for the radial village. The small radial villages must be considered as a village type which has been used by the Wends in these parts, although it cannot be interpreted as an original shape which is characteristic of the Slavs. Germans who came to these parts in the course of the medieval colonization, have not established such types of radial villages. - The lane village is related to the radial village; it rises in a longitudinal-rectangular shape; the term is used in Central Germany (Gassendorf). It consists of two rectilinear, at times slightly bent rows of houses and yards which are close to each other; the latter are mostly in the style of the Central German yards which turn their fronts towards each other. Between them there is a narrow road used for traffic which is called lane (Gasse) in popular ver-
 bage. It is mostly short so that the number of the bordering premises remains small. In some cases the lane is widened so that a place is formed (wide lane village). Usually the lane village is closed on one side. The blunt end is turned towards the border of the precinct; if it is situated at the edge of a meadow, the blunt end looks towards the banks of the river the slope of which gives protection. The open end offers the access to the fields. There are also extensions at one of the side ends, so that the ground-plan shows a rectangular hook. With a round closing at the not open end the shape of a dead-end lane village is formed which belongs to the group of radial villages. The emphasis of the factor of protection and the turning away from the traffic are two elements they have in common

It strikes us that there are rows of such lane villages in Western Saxony along the Elster and the Pleisse downstream from the entry into the lowlands like chains; here they are apparently a shape which was common since the early German colonization on ground which was precolonized by the Slavs. Further towards the East they extend in groups in the Northern tracts at both banks of the Mulde and Elbe, along the Elster and along the Spree in Northeastern direction towards the old region of Bautzen. In the far East they lose themselves; In Silesia they are nonexistent. Besides the described shape of the lane village which is closed along one side, we find the twosided shape which is also open. It is usually looser and longer. There the term long lane village (Langgassendorf) has been used.

The described shape types are paralleled by their large-size shapes which are more portly and more advanced in their planning. Particularly impressive is the character of the village in those cases in which a stately interior space in the center keeps the entity together. From the point of view of the history of colonization this type appears to be the most perfect village shape which has been attained. This type of village was called meadow village (Angerdorf). But the expression should only be used, if the interior space is really used as a meadow and is not only a free place. In the older field books we find the term village plan (Dorfplan) used for this internal space. The simpler word is place. It is really the nucleus of the village and is the property of the community, the common land. Here we can see what is done for the life of the community in both public-legal and economic respects. Here is the place where the community meetings are held, where local jurisdiction is exercised, when it is done in the open air, underneath an old dignified tree; Besides the tree there is a 'stick' for executing a punishment, in front of everybody. On the village place there is the village well, the community pond,

or as it is often called, the pool, frequently also the hut of the shepherd and the squirt house with the fire-extinguishers which can also be used as a prison or poor House. The space itself is covered by grass and serves as a meadow for the pasture of small cattle or for poultry. Shade spending fruit-trees or other trees are planted on it. It can also be divided up into small gardens which are allocated to the members of the community. A village path runs through for traffic, or it divides at the entrance to lead along the two sides and to come together again at the end to show the way out of the village. The yards are lined up at the sides; they are close to each other and only separated by narrow spaces in between. There are also special building blocks which divide the ground-plan. In such cases they are separated from each other through small side lanes. Often the church is on the internal space of the village. The cemetery is also there, the church and the cemetery are the spiritually combining center point of the whole. The shape of the interior place and therewith the shape of the entire village can be varied. As in the case of the small radial village the shape can be round like a circle; to have a contrast between the latter and the large-scale shape we speak of a round meadow village. The place can be cornered by three or more sides (village in the place corner, in the meadow corner); the shape of a regular triangle is characteristic.) ; in the case of an angular interior place an rounding off towards the outside is possible.

If lanes are starting from the angles to form a connection with the entrance or exit, we can speak of a place lane village. In the longitudinal shape the expansion with sinking side lines is popular. Lense-shaped and also oval village shapes are created in this way. But there can also be a longitudinal rectangular village shape for which the term street meadow village has been suggested. In Saxony the term meadow village (Angerdorf) is not an expression which has emerged from local usage. For the villages with a meadow in the center the term is so expressive and in the

German East it has become so customary that it can also be applied in the science of our region. - We have to distinguish the street village from the street meadow village. There are two house and yard fronts on both sides of a long road facing each other. The street is moderately wide; the interior meadow with its use is lacking. The idea is a residential street with an appearance which is similar to streets in urban settlements, where the houses are not directly connected with each other by the fire-proof walls. In the case of the two types of villages, the street village and the street meadow village, the settling is possible alongside the street of the great transit traffic. But such a traffic route is not decisive; it can run through the village, pass it and be connected with by side paths only, or even cross through it in transversal direction. The ascertainment of the period of history and the historic appreciation of this group of village types is difficult only in the case of the round meadow villages. They are situated on the edge zone of a ground with an old colonization. ; some of them had a Slav population, before they were changed. Germans may have established such villages to settle down there. The meadow villages of longitudinal shape, the street and street meadow villages are typical shapes of the German colonization of the East. It may well be that descendants of Wends were settled here through German lords, when a migration took place.

The village leads easier into the open field terrain, if its residential premises which are closely together or loosely lined up, form a row: a spring row in a spring depression or alongside the meadow edge of a brook as a bank row. Clearer rows are seen in the case of road rows, where the houses or premises accompany the road only on one side; the road runs rectilinear in one direction or it has slight bends. In front of them there are the small gardens or meadow premises. Mostly we find small or short shapes, but a longer extension alongside the road is not impaired

by a fixed end or terminal, and such planning can be done easily. There are also villages with two road rows parallel towards each other. Where one road crossing is used, we find a cross road village. In Saxony such shapes are usually found in the Northern parts, beyond the Elbe with a projection towards the South which is situated Northeast of the Dresden heath. At the Elbe we find them in fishermen's settlements of the depression and among the stone quarries of the marginal heights of the river. If the village with row shapes is bigger, we speak of a row village. Among the villages of such type, the village with a double row have a special significance. Both yard rows, at some distance from each other, are separated from each other by a depression, with a brook between meadows, that is to say with a meadow-like formation, mostly also with a path. Towards the outside the village has not always got fixed boundaries, but it takes a recognizable village space. In Austria the term ditch village (Grabendorf) is used for this; this expression is quite illustrative.

This type of village which could also be called meadow row village, if the yards have spaces between each other, leads us over to a main group of village plans which extend in the open terrain in loose rows formed by the yards. The term row village (Reihendorf) was introduced for this type of settlement. A row can be longer and extended further than a line. The village area has a certain shape, usually a longitudinal shape, although it is not firmly bordered. We can also find an axis. The current of the water accompanied by the meadows, shows the direction. The villagers speak of the meadow or of the village meadow. A village path leads up to it, or several streets, or the road with the heavy traffic which runs through the center of the village. Decisive for the formation of such village type is the location of the yards which have a greater distance from each other; they are so to speak on the green meadow, on the village field itself, on the first part of the field piece belonging to it, which directly accessible from the house and the garden, extends

as a uniform broad ribbon to the extreme field border. There are many variations. The villages can be built in such a manner that they extend only through part of the village terrain. In this case we speak of a short row village. More frequently, there are two yard rows which are running parallel and face each other. If the fields are not narrowed on account of the terrain, we have long row villages which are so characteristic for our mountains, from the Western Erzgebirge to the Lusatian mountains, but also in the foreland and even in the plains. According to the types of rows we can distinguish between one-row villages, i.e. villages which are developed only on one side, two-side and more-side villages. At times the location of the yards is irregular, so that here and there small groups separate within the entire row village, or we find a round-shaped end at the upper village edge. There is also a shape which is similar to the radial group. Around a place-like center with a pond and a meadow there are the yards in a loose row, accessible on small paths. If the shape is very distinct, the term round row village (radial row village) can be used. There are variations in the shape of the row village, because the adaptation of the village to the differences in the terrain is particularly great in the case of this type of village shape.

Finally, we have to mention those villages which extend over the entire field area with their individual houses and yards or in small dispersed groups without having a uniform ground-plan; they appear as a unit in regard to their origin and homogeneous character. We can speak of a dispersed settlement here. The village is situated on a dissolved village area. The used premises neighbor the various residential premises. The character of such villages differs according to the food basis and the economic activities of the inhabitants; peasants, particularly small peasants, settle down in these villages, foresters, house owners engaged in small trades or workers who work in the forest, at a mill or at a foundry.

At first it was necessary to consider the most simple forms

of rural settlements. The great number of shapes, however, is not exhausted with this, even not the number of typical forms. It is not possible nor indispensable to describe the manifold shapes which we find, in all their variations and to group them. This would easily lead us into a purely formal characterization. Such approach would not be of great value for the more profound appreciation of the phenomena of colonization. However, we have to go into some of the main points.

A special trait is conveyed to the shape of a rural settlement, if a large estate is situated there, usually a manor which can be considered as a special part of the village. Apart from the most simple cases a composed form is obtained where the connected parts are melted together. There are various basic shapes represented. There are separate estates, adjacent farms; they have the appearance of a hamlet, if there are numerous side buildings. We can speak of an estate hamlet proper, if besides the large estate there is a number of small farms which form part of the village and are pronounced in the overall picture of the village. The location can be in groups; frequently, it shows the character of a small road row. If the settlement place shows a great number of premises besides the main estate, particularly also peasant farms, it must be characterized as an estate village (Gutsdorf). Many questions have come up in this respect. There are estates besides a radial village so that the overall shape can be called an ^{radial} estate village. Often a lane was built starting from the estate (estate lane village). Manorial estates can also be found amidst of a street or street meadow village, also in the villages which are built in a row. In view of the size of such villages they are not predominant and that a special designation would have to be created; one could simply speak of a street or row village with a manorial estate. Sometimes there are several manorial estates in such villages which are located in different parts of the locality, in the upper or lower village or whatever the division of the village may be called.

Sometimes an industrial enterprise and not an agricultural piece of land is the main factor for the establishment of the village; for instance there are mines, foundries or hammerworks or modern factories. In these cases the locality can be called 'works hamlet'. If such a locality grows, it can be considered as one of the villages. There are also separate forest hamlets, various types of mills, also inns which can become street hamlets.

In the above description of the characteristics of various shapes it has been pointed out that not all shapes can be found clearly represented. Usually, there is a basic trait which can be recognized in its essential nature and which shows a similarity to another shape. In such cases we speak of transitory shapes: e.g. the relation of a group of yards to the hoard village, in the transition from the place angle village to the meadow round village, from the lane village to the street village, from the loose meadow village to the row village etc. There are also complex shapes, when the village is extended and when smaller settlements are merged to form a larger unit. The shapes which are formed on account of a simple extension, belong to this group. The existing shape is not altered. This applies to cases in which the village is simply extended, or if a side building is added, in hooked shape or by the addition of several links at different spots. We also find settlements, where a residential or farming piece of land is established at some distance from the village. If it attained full autonomy, it represents a special formation in terms of topography, even if it cannot be separated from the overall picture of the terrain. We have to distinguish between these types and the mixed shapes proper, where two or more different shapes are clearly combined to one uniform overall shape. We find this in the case of a village where a part which is a round shape, goes over into a lane or a part of the village which has the shape of a meadow street type; we also find it in villages which could be called place lane villages,

with a place nucleus and clearly formed lanes which start from there or lead into it etc. Such mixed shapes can consist only of clearly determinable basic shapes, whereas irregular shapes are much less suitable for this. A growth phenomenon are the accumulation shapes which have emerged without a definite plan as additions or extensions of the basic shape. Here a kind of hoard village comes into being, not in the sense of an original village, but as the result of a younger development which shows the traces of growth in the manifold composition of distinguishable village parts. The accumulation types cover also villages, where the basic shape is repeated several times: e.g. the double radial village, the double street villages etc. If the entire village is composed of several parts of more or less autonomous village character, we find a collection group settlement, where the typical traits depend on the basic shapes. There are some lane group villages which are composed of several village lanes. It is a kind of village ground-plan which can be similar to the to the hoard villages but do not show a genuinely hoard character of the location of the yards, but unite different form elements. Such group character can also be found, if a radial village and a lane village have grown together or have been put together to form a unit.

These are the main types of formation of complex rural settlement shapes according to their interior organization. An attempt to describe the variations of the differences in more detail, would lead us to the description of individual villages. However, this is not necessary in a description of the basic types.

On the basis of the above description we obtain the following

Survey over the basic forms of rural localities .

I. The individual settlement (one-cell settlement)

- a) individual house
- b) individual farm; individual large or manorial estate
(adjacent estate)

c) Estate hamlet.

2. The original (genuine) hoard village.

B. The uninterrupted and planned settlements.

1. The place or meadow village (with empty place or meadow in the interior).

a) The small radial village

b) The round meadow village

c) The place village with several sides or the village on the angular meadow;

#) ground-plan with three or more angles,

##) on rectangular ground.

2. The lane village.

a) The lane village which is open to one side; the dead-end (with rounded terminal).

b) The lane village which is open on two sides.

3. The street village.

a) The purely street-shaped village.

b) The street meadow village.

C. The road line in open space toward the fields.

1. The simple road line

2. Cross-road village.

D. The row-shaped settlements.

1. The short row village.

2. The long row village traversing the fields.

3. The highly loosened row village with small group formation.

E. The dispersed settlements.

1. Individual yards or individual houses.

2. Dispersed group settlements.

F. The works settlements.

1. The works hamlet.

2. Large works settlements.

III. The complex shapes.

1. The shapes with simple extensions.

2. Mixed types.

3. Double types.

4. Accumulation types.

- a) Simple accumulation
- b) Flocking group settlement.

2. The Field Pattern.

- a) The ~~width~~ of the field, the size and the boundaries.

In German the field means the land of a settlement, particularly of a rural settlement⁶. But there are certain variations. If we speak of fields, we can think of the usable tracts of land near human settlements without an area unit. Mostly we think of the open land in contrast to the rising forest; we mean the tilled and crop yielding soil at the side of the forest and desert land. In this sense the fields belong to the various yards, to small hamlets or large estates (manorial fields etc.), to villages and village parts without local autonomy. But there is also the meaning of a definite space or area, where the entire area of fields, the entire district belonging to the village, is considered as the field; to make it clearer we would then speak of a local or village field in the sense of a local district or the precincts of a locality.

In older tradition we can find this term of the 'field' at times; if the field is distinguished from the march of the district of the village, the field books speak of field and march, at times also of field and terrain to characterize the entire area belonging to the village with such a double term. The word march (Mark) is not clear. It can be interpreted as a district which belongs to the entire village, but it can designate also single sectors as we can frequently find it among the field names. In the regulations for the establishment of the older field books it is expressly requested to list the marches or 'Gewende' belonging to the village, with their names⁷. The Latin expression for the village district is pagus; this term is used for the entire local field area, whereas the single fields are called campi

⁶) J. Grimm's German Encyclopedia III, 1851. - German Legal Dictionary III 597.

⁷) LHA. Loc. 41 207 (Rep. XL, no. 330), Acta, Catastra concerning Monita of 1741, par. 12, the establishment of the field registers; same place, schemes and monita of 1741, par. 11.

campestris etc.

In the official verbage of the Saxonian administration the 'field area' is used in the sense of the entire local precinct. In older field books this terminology is predominant. Then it was used during the general survey of 1835 and the following years; the first job was to lay down the local field area as a clearly bordered district for the payment of the land tax; possible discrepancies were to be equalized and each dispersion of the plots belonging to the field area amidst of another field area was to be eliminated - of course only in respect to taxation and for the administration. and not in regard to private property.⁸ The term of 'field area' is defined by the law of 1843 and has a fixed meaning up to our days.⁹

A characteristic trait of the local field area is its size. According to the result of the general survey of 1835 it can be determined for all the individual local field areas (at first according to Acker and square rods, whereas later on the calculation was made according to ha). It is possible to group them according to size as this has been done under agricultural points of view¹⁰. In connection with the history of the field areas it is sufficient to distinguish three main groups:

small field areas up to 200 ha (with an average of 100 - 200 ha)
 from which dwarf field areas (appr. up to 50 ha) could be separated which, however, would not play an important part in Saxony;
 medium-size field areas between 200 - 500 ha (5 sq.km);
 large field areas up to 1,000 ha (10 sq.km), an area which is exceeded only by a few local field areas in Saxony.

8) General Decree of Jan.7,1835: Official Gazette 1835,p. 13 and following, A, Correction and the Bordering of the Fields by Means of Paths.

9) General Decree 1843,p.104: Section II, par.25.

10) O.Sieber, The productive Areas of the Community field Areas, of the Manorial Estates and the Crown-Land. Mag.Sax.Stat.Off. XLI (1896),p.173 and following.

The state forest areas is disregarded here; besides the local field areas they cover large enclosed areas. The mentioned differences in size has an economic significance, but it deserves also attention in connection with the history of the field areas, because the small, medium-size and large field areas belong to different periods of colonization. We will discuss this lateron. It must be borne in mind that the differences in size which were mentioned here, actually have not the same importance in regard to the location and the type of terrain; the greater or smaller surface of the field area doesnot permit us to conclude to essential differences.

Let us examine the formation of the field area accessories of the settlements; we find the same differences here which we have observed among the different types of villages and which was already noticed in the mentioned differences of meaning of the term 'field area'. The soil belonging to a local field area may be located in a certain bellmong with pieces of land of other settlements. In early history the formation of the village community developed in a loose manner, and this had an impact on conditions in the old regions; such a pell-mell of field pieces developed very easily, although the main field area was always located directly near the residential area. The cultivation of accessory settlements was done from a central locality without a redistribution of the fields which resulted in a bellmong of the field accessories. Lateron, the use of deserted fields from various settlements resulted in a pell-mell of local field accessories. Up to modern times there are cases where two or more settlements had field property in the bellmong. (Loebnitz with Bennewitz East of Pegau.) The dcreation of uninterrupted local field areas was the settlement tradition of the German period of colonization. This is clearly shown by the traditional shape of the field area. There is no doubt that this model has been suggestive

for the formation of the field areas in the old regions and for the use made of the soil. The acquisition of property by strangers does not change the field area. But it could happen, if the property in question was very extensive. The phenomenon of incorporation into the field area and the cession of fields to other field areas have been possible as such. The type of the uninterrupted local field area was predominant. The remnants of field pieces which belonged to the local field area and which were located in the bellmong, were eliminated in the 19th century.

The different ways of formation and development is reflected by the traditional shape of the field space and its bordering. There are local field areas which seem to be cut out of the surrounding area like geometric figures - particularly those which have the shape of a longitudinal rectangle which is a clear trait of planning. However, most of the local field areas have numerous tongues with ~~an~~ interrupted lines which had many angles and formed the border; they had projecting corners and edges; at times these seemed to be worked into each other; the enclosed area was almost round, sometimes broad, sometimes long and narrow; the shape always depended on the formation of the field area and its adaptation to the plain, the hilly, basin or depression-like terrain or historic coincidence. At the beginning the borders of the field areas may not have been fixed clearly enough, whereas this had been the case among the borders of the larger districts (such as the castle wards). The custom developed that the borders were definitely marked - since the time of the German colonization¹¹, although this did not apply to the individual local field area. In the German motherland there was the old peculiar custom, to put border signs on the trees. They were called 'Lackbaeume' (lacquer trees); in the local dialects also similarly sounding expressions were in use. It appears that this custom was not unknown in Saxony; here and there we can find field names which point toward such designation. Clearer was the formation of boundary-hills as they are mentioned in the

documents descriptive of the region of Freiberg which was cleared from forest in 1185. The Slavs knew these hills; they called them kopice which can be found in the names of fields later on.¹² At times small ditches were dug out and filled with signs (fragments). The most widespread custom was the setting of stones, with or without signs (marks). The well-known big stone crosses, however, cannot be considered borderstones for the field areas, at least only in exceptional cases.

The custom of field area inspection served the securing of the borderlines; we have evidence for this in regard to some of our local districts (such as The Altenburg district); this custom has certainly also been known in other districts¹³. In a solemn way the community paid down the borders of the field area, under the leadership of the village mayor (judge and old citizens) and the eldest, also with the participation of the village youth; the location of the border points was shown to them (by a slap in the face, but also by small gifts) so that they remember it. Witnesses from the neighboring villages appeared for this at the border points so that the mutual concordance with the borderline was confirmed and established. A festival in the village usually ended this procedure. Sometimes such field inspections were combined with church processions the original meaning of them, from Heathen times, had been the blessing of the field areas with their seeds and their protection against damaging forces, demons or bad weather. The custom to ride around the borderlines of the field areas on horses has remained up to the present time and have at times been re-established, particularly in Upper Lusatia (Easter riding).

- 11) The border are described for instance in the documents of 1143 (Pleissen Forest, Doc.B. for Naumburg I 158), 1185, Aug. 2 (Cod. dipl. Sax. I 2, 510: for Altleile), comp. 1168, Nov. 13 (same place, 355: property of Zschillen-Wechselburg).
- 12) A. Meiche, The Upper Lusatian Border Document of 1241. N. Lus. Mag. 84, 145 and following.
- 13) Outline of Sax. Reg. Aff., p. 80, 99 and following. - M. Liebig, Field Inspections and Field and Border Conflicts of the small Altenburg Town of Lucka (1926).

The same type of differences between the village ground-plans are found among the field areas. The type of field area division is the decisive factor. Two points are of importance in this respect: the field area is divided into sectors according to the use made of the soil and according to the type of cultivation. In this sense the different cultures are distinguished from each other as they are described in the field books. Then there is a division into the individual surveyed pieces of land and their combination for the formation of property units. These two types of field area division have to be studied in the following.

b) The location of the different types of cultures.

The field area pattern and the cultivation of the fields are essentially determined by the manner in which the types of culture are located in the terrain: the main cultures existing besides each other which are shown in the field sketches: field (tilled land), meadow, pasture, high and low forest (bush), ponds, and the special cultures such as vineyards and orchards, loam, sand and gravel quarries, stone quarries etc.

Typical forms of location have to be distinguished. The field pieces can be used for tilling and as pasture in an irregular rotation; at times land will be unused (Dresch, Lehde); we term this rotating land, a type of field area which the field books and field sketches are not shown for the entire local field area. For a long time the different cultures appear to be fixed within the local field area; they adhere to the pieces of land where they have been applied originally, whatever the shape of the particular plot may have been. There are local field areas, we call them monocultures, where only one culture is used: the entire field area is used for tilling, or it is a pure meadow field area or it is covered by forest such as the deserted marches. Usually the local field area has different types of culture which complement each other, as the rural economy requires it. They may be located in a pell-mell, so that each piece shows a culture of its own; a certain periodic rotation of

culture types is left to the holder. Such types of field areas are similar to the rotation land, but the types of culture have become firmly attached to the particular fields here. We speak of culture or bellmong type field areas. The individual field pieces which form a cell unit of the field area pattern on the basis of property and shape, can have rotating cultures; in this case they are mixed parcels which may be used as a term for the field area. If there is an overall plan for the use to be made of the field areas which is based on an organizing and controlling activity of the community of settlers, a useful organization of different types of cultures is created. Under the system of the field economy we have this in large shapes; entire parts of the village precinct are selected for field tilling, whereas others are reserved for meadows, permanent pasture and forest (as commons). With the advancing economy the permanent pasture was strongly limited in favor of the always extending field tilling; this development was noticed early in Saxony. But the tilled land itself was temporarily kept open for pasture purposes, as we have seen above under the field economy. Seen from the village the surfaces for the different types of culture can be grouped in zones which follow each other, in accordance with the performance required during the cultivation. If they are distributed over parallel property, as it is the case with the longitudinal hides which were gained from the forest, then they must be characterized as culture ribbon strips with their economic possibilities which are more favorable for the individual peasant. In this way we can observe a sequence of field area shapes according to the location of the different types of culture, the economic-social effect of which and the importance of which can be clearly seen only in connection with the division on the basis of property parcels.

o) The Division of Field Areas according
into Property Parcels.

Each field area is divided into individual property parcels which are called parcels when they are surveyed. For the field area types the manner in which these parcels were formed, is

the decisive factor; of greatest importance is their combination to individual property units¹⁴.

The field area parcels form geometric figures of different shape. They are formations with numerous corners; they are round only in rare cases. Usually they are rectangles, mostly narrow and long, but there are also types of square shape. In the description of the field areas it has become customary to designate the irregular and square-like field area parcels as blocks, whereas the rectangular and narrow parcels where the length is greater than the width, can be called strips. There are field areas which appear to have been divided into such block or strip-shaped parcels. Other field areas are divided into larger areas or sectors which, in turn, are divided further into smaller parcels. Such field sectors clearly show up in the overall organization as individual units; a block shape is possible, but more frequently we can find a formation of large rectangles.

In regard to the distribution of property it is an essential difference, whether that type of field area parcels is directly allotted to the holder, or whether the field area is first divided into larger sectors, which, in turn, are subdivided into small parcels which are given to the holders. The legal and economic relationship of the individual owner to the community of the rural settlement is clearly seen in the variations of this field area division.

A first main group of field area forms is formed by all those, where the individual field area parcels are seen, without a visible formation of larger sectors. Each property consists of a smaller or greater number of such pieces of land which can be located in the direct neighborhood of the residential or farming area around them; but in most cases they are dispersed in the field area. The types of cultivation are separated from each other so that there are field parcels, meadow and copse parcels distinguished from each other. But there are also parcels with

¹⁴Comp. G. Niemeier, Quadrangular field areas, their division and the Eschkern theory (Peterm. Bull., 1944, no. 3/4, p. 57 and f.); the term of 'field area' which is taken as a basis here, can only be applied to the German West which he analyses.

where the different types of cultivation are mixed; they show field and meadow, field and copse besides each other, or they are used for different purposes. Only the field areas of small or at the utmost medium-size village field areas have such a dispersed location in individual pieces. Some field areas are divided up into irregular blocks; they are called block field areas. We can hardly find a round location in Saxony, around the yard as it is found in Northwestern Germany and also in the Alps with the open fields; in regard to the block shape we find that the dispersed location, a block bellmong is more or less the customary distribution. The shape of the blocks shows numerous angles, at times it is rounded off, but frequently also rectangular; it even comes near the square formation, if the layout has been planned. The term 'width' (*Breite*) for parcels with such shape, also 'Breitchen' (small width), has become traditional; of course, the term is also used in regard to their presence in other field shapes. Frequently there are field areas with a mixture of block or strip-shaped parcels, so that we speak of a block or strip field area; the strips themselves are usually short and have different shapes. This applies particularly to cases, where a large estate, a manor or a conspicuous large peasant farm is in the bellmong with peasant land. It can also be the result of mergers or of the growth of large peasant plots. Closely related is a purely strip-shaped field area division; here the irregular, mostly short strips are dispersed and located in an irregular bellmong (strip bellmong field area). With such strip-like field area division the single pieces of land are located directly in the neighborhood of the residential and economic place of activity from where they are accessible and usable. In most cases, however, this does not apply. Also in legal respect the pieces belonging to the farm are located in a pell-mell, in an irregular bellmong. The result is that a certain general regulation appeared necessary in regard to the use made of the soil, during the field tilling and the fencing of the meadows and pasture-land. Field regulations were imposed on the peasants by the community of the old village population. An allotment of

field area strips was also possible under a more planned procedure, with the distribution of new land or with the regulation of an already existing field pattern. The new strips are put one besides the other in a uniform shape, parallel (regulated strip field area). We could call them strip lines, or as they are located in a line, line rows. There are broad strips of rectangular shape which are similar to the block shape. More frequently we find the formation of narrow strip-shaped parcels where the longitudinal extension is predominant.

The division of the field areas, particularly of the medium-size and larger one, can be done in such a manner that they are divided into larger area sectors which, in turn, are subdivided into individual parcels and are given to the holders. Such larger sectors appear as higher area units, and in this capacity they are of importance for the cultivation. They are divided into a more or less great number of strips with a rectangular shape which run side by side in the same direction. At the edges of the sectors pointed soil pieces remain which are called 'Geren'. The formation of such type of field area shapes can be explained in terms of the gradual extension of the field area, of the growing together or merging of formerly individual, single field areas. In Saxony some of these field areas can be traced back to measures which were taken during the German colonization, when the villages were established. The cause for the formation of such field area sectors was a common action of the old peasants or the decree of the land distributing authority during the allotment of the field area and also during a development of the organization later on. The idea was to give the various partners shares of the same size as far as possible. It has been found out that the formation of such sectors was particularly urgent, if the quality of the soil (the sand and the height or inclination of the terrain) changed noticeably; then the soil quality was different and it was recommendable to select at first such sectors where

the soil was the same, or almost the same. Through the distribution the proprietors received sectors at different locations, i.e. shares of different soil quality and situated at different distances from the yard. Each property was dispersed in various larger field area sectors. For their use a regulation was set up by the community.

In older Saxonian tradition we find characteristic names for the field area sectors which were created in this manner. The regulations for the field books speak of sections, marks or 'Gewenden', also of stripes. The marches are also called like this in the field books; this applies also to sectors in the general field area as they are found during the field area inspection and as they are registered in the notes of the inspectors. Usually they have uniform names (field area names). Sometimes 'Gewende' are mentioned in these sources; they are described and given a name, but often also simply counted (the first, second, third Gewende etc.). The expression is derived from 'wenden' (to turn); in this connection the people thought mainly of the turning of the plough: the Gewende covers the lines which the plough covers from one end to the other, till it turns at the 'Wendeacker'. The turning is also expressed in a general sense: the Gewende is a sector of soil which is cultivated and formally defined; it is a part of the field area which is located between border furrows, small pieces for turning, and ridges between the fields. The significance is similar to the original meaning of the expression 'Mark' (march) which is a border. The word 'Feldwanne' (field tub or in the wider meaning: deparated field) which is used in the more Northwestern regions (in the province of Saxony and in the Brunswick district), was not used in the Kingdom of Saxony. Frequently the term 'Striche' (stripes) is applied, in the sense of uniformly combined sectors on a field area. During the field area inspection they always speak of 'dieses Striches Ende' (the end of this stripe). The word can be used for different types of field area division

to characterize the combination of individual pieces of land, particularly those running in the same direction. In agrarian history it has become customary to use the term 'Gewanne'. There are different explanations for the word; either it comes from 'gewinnen' (winnen), the 'winning' of the land for use as tilled fields; or it is a linguistic transformation of the term 'Geweude'; probably there is a mixture from the two interpretations in the more widely used verbage¹⁵. The term is found in historic source material in Western and Southern Germany. In the Kingdom of Saxony there was no evidence for it, whereas the Gewende were well known among the people. But in view of the accepted use made of the expression in agrarian history of Germany, it is recommended to apply it in the scientific discussion of agriculture and colonization and to name the field area type in question after it.

With such 'Gewann' formations there were two possibilities. There are local field areas with 'Gewanne' which have irregular shapes like larger blocks (Blockgewanne); they can be seen in great numbers; their circumference is mostly comparable small. The interior division is characterized by changing shares. Such field area division has ^{got} something which is naturally grown. It plays also a part in the extension or expansion of the field area, if the nucleus of the field area shows a different shape. The Gewanne can be shaped according to a definite plan and reflect this in the entire organization (planned Gewanne). They are large rectangular field area sectors which could be divided into regular, parallel pieces, into strips of regular shape with considerable longitudinal extension. Geren may remain left over at the edges. It is possible that the distribution of the pieces of property in the Gewanne developed in an unregulated manner, without the same shares being given out in each Gewann; they were distributed with the intention that the uniform measure of the property share appears outbalanced in all Gewanne in regard to

15) Grimm's German Dictionary, III, 5319 and f., spec. Sec. 2 and 3; comp. Wanne: XIII, 1894; Profit as Yield from Work, same pl. IV, 1, 5866, 5896 and f.

the space as far as possible, but at least in regard to the economic value of the allotted pieces. There are also cases, where the Gewanne were divided up according to a definite plan, where completely regular shares were formed so that for each Gewann there was a uniform measure as basis which can be different in each Gewann depending on the size and the quality of the soil of the Gewanne; the total area of the intended surface must be distributed. The basic measure for the division was usually the hide (as a field hide). The field area was divided according to the hide rule: in each Gewann each hide has a share of a certain size, for instance according to the number of Acker, 1, 1 1/2, 2 Acker . . . or according to the number of rods (width of 2 rods etc.) along the survey ridge between the fields, or at the survey furrow. If the hide had the normal size and if hides of the same size were formed, there was the possibility that all peasants concerned obtained one hide each (equality of distribution to the fullest extent), or the individual peasant received shares of different sizes on the basis of the hide measure (one entire hide, several hides, but also hide parts in the very beginning when he obtained land for the first time). According to modern field maps the interior division of the Gewanne usually shows small strips (like ribbons as it was said). However, this is not in the nature of the Gewanne. The shares can also be broad, at least in regard to the basic measure: probably they have been broad to a great extent.

The simplest type of planned formation of large field area sectors divided the entire field area into sectors for the three-fallow system, i.e. into three fields which were given directly to the proprietors. The 'fields' were sectors in both area and agricultural respects. In such cases we speak of Gewann field areas provided they are divided up into Gewann strips; they can also be called 'Dreiartengewanne'. Indeed, in some districts (such as the surroundings of Leipzig) field areas of this type have been formed very frequently, particularly in the villages

which did not belong to the big ones, but only there where the soil was of the same type; differences in soil quality did not impose the division of the local field area into a greater number of Gewanne. Such field areas can be similar to those which have been described above as regulated strip field areas, but they are characterized by the regular formation of circumscribed field area sectors, the three-field Gewanne and their interior division with parallel strips, where the allotment of the property strips was done in a less rigid manner and also in groups.

In agrarian respect a main characteristic of the genuine Gewann field area, as it is predominant in the motherland of Germany, that the formation of Gewanne took place only on the soil which was tilled with the plough and used as a field, whereas apart from them, there were permanent pasture-land and forest (as village commons) in the local precinct. In the regions East of the Saale this was usually the case, although the common property of the village was less extensive here. The more we come to the East, the more Gewanne were formed the longitudinal strips of which do not only show meadows in the forest but which extended also into the forest. The term Gewanne will still be kept for this, if there are several field area sectors in the precinct which are used as cultivated fields and the interior property division of which corresponds to that of the pure Acker-Gewanne. They may be called field-forest Gewanne. Meadows have often been divided up like Gewanne so that it is permitted to speak of Wiesengewanne (meadow Gewanne). They were taken for meadow cultivation and are located within a certain circumference. The longitudinal Gewanne with alternating cultivations are related to another type of field area which we will discuss in the following. We cannot speak of forest Gewanne proper. On field area maps divided forest areas for wood cutting look similar to forest Gewanne, however; they have a mixed location of the different shares.

A field area type of a particular kind has been found, where the so-called Gelaenge (longitudinal strips) are elements of the field area. In Western parts the term is found already in olden times; frequently also in field area names, so that it has been ascertained that it was known to the people. It is all the more justified to use it for designating a special type of field area, of the longitudinal strip type¹⁶. Gelaenge are strips of portly size in a definite longitudinal extension as they were applied during the surveying. They were actually formed in rectangular, longitudinal shapes and in a regular manner. But there are also deviations, when the circumscribing lines had to be drawn in a less regular manner because of the adaptation to the terrain, so that the Gelaenge end broader or more pointed to wind through the field area. In Central Thuringia the Gelaenge are shown clearly as a measure in the Gewanne, where pieces have been formed which are 4 rods broad (as double Acker pieces), besides three-rods or pieces, 1 to 2 rods wide¹⁷. In Eastern Thuringia and in the Northern part of the Vogtland, also further East, the Gelaenge are not parts of the Gewinn but autonomous members of the field area survey¹⁸. Such Gelaenge contain all three types of cultivation: field, meadow and copse; on the basis of the economy plan of the holder a rotation can take place among them without the economy of the neighbor being affected. The field area is directly divided up into Gelaenge; it is possible that the field space was reserved for the community at the first land distribution to be used as forest and pasture-land. The allotment of property in the Gelaenge field areas was done in this way that each property consisted only of several, a few Gelaenge. The main Gelaenge border the yards directly to which they belong; the name Hofgelaenge (yard strip) or Hausgelaenge (house strip) was used. But such a Hofgelaenge is not all the property of the yard: there are corresponding pieces - we could say Nebengelaenge (side Gelaenge or accessory Gelaenge) - in other parts of the field area. Altogether there are usually three Gelaenge; this is an adaptation to the three-field-system.

16) The term was introduced by Joh.Leipoldt into the History of Colonization; see Hist. of East German Colonization in the Vogtland, p.35 and following.

17) G.Landau, The Thuringian Field Constitution (Correspondence Sheets of the Association of German Societies for History and Antiquity (1864). - R.Koetzschke, Hide and Hide System in the Central German Field Area Layouts (Economy and Civilization, Festival Booklet for Dopsch, 1938, p.250 and following).

18) Example Burkersdorf, see J.Leipoldt, in the above mentioned place, p.182.

The number of Gelaenge can be greater or smaller, but there are only a few Gelaenge so that the property appears ^{more} interrupted than in the typical Gewann field areas. If there are several sectors in the field area which combine a group of Gelaenge, we can speak of Gelaenge in several layers or locations (location Gelaenge). If such groups are used for field tilling, this field area division appears similar to that of the Gewann division according to the field areas with three Gewanne. A regular field area pattern is obtained, if the Gelaenge are completely parallel and appear to be in lines (row Gelaenge). Then they extend in the same manner, as it is said in the field book¹⁹, side by side, so that they can be called Feldbreiten (field widths), particularly if the use as tilled fields is predominant.²⁰ The village area can be separated by the field area, and even fenced in, so that the fields are not accessible directly from the yard. If each yard would have only one Gelaenge, we would have the type of a forest hide field area which will be described in the following. The Gelaenge type takes a kind of intermediary position among the different field area types.

This leads us to the discussion of the field area type which is the last main type. Here the elements of the field area division are field shares of a shape which was described for the Gelaenge. The allotment of property was not regularly done with several pieces of land, but only with one piece which enclosed the entire area of the acquired land. The field area shares which were similar to ribbons and which were created in this manner, adapted themselves to the terrain and were larger than in the field areas with the Gelaenge. In the distribution of property the hide was the measure and pieces of land were created on the basis of the hide; they were located side by side. The entire field area was divided into hide rows. Each hide borders the yard. The yard is located at the head end of the hide.

The location of the yard in the middle of the hide is also pos-
 19) Field Book of Grethen, Southeast of Leipzig, 1789.
 20) R. Koetzschke, Principles of Germ. Ec. Hist., 1921, p. 153.

sible. Seen from the yard the hide appears to be twosided. The hide itself corners tilled land, meadow and copse; it makes it possible to work on all types of cultivation on a uniformly closed land of the yard. As the peasant has got his property together in one area, without a bellmong with that of the neighbors, he has a free hand in the organization of his work. With this type of field area there is no obligation to observe the 'Flurzwang' regulations. However, a few community rights are reserved (grazing on stubbles or the fallow land); there are manorial rights to a greater extent, of there is a manor in the neighborhood or in the surrounding regions. The village meadow with the brook remained property of the community and was used as a meadow or reserved for tilling. There was also community forest, although the individual peasant usually had some forest on his farm. Such hides were usually formed during the clearance of wood; therefore, people spoke of forest hides, a term which has been in use throughout the history of agriculture and colonization. The term 'forest settlement hide' would have been nearer to life, because a hide of forest in the sense proper, as we find it in the Western regions in the Middle Ages, designates a measure of forest land. These hides are actually mostly found in wooded and mountainous areas where we find village after village with forest hides. But also in the flat parts hide rows were formed, even where the village was established on the green meadow and where field area parts were allotted for use as fields and for the growing of grass, only with a little copse at the side. On regular terrain, on even soil or in wide valley depressions field area pattern developed with a regular shape; the hides are located like rectangular, geometric figures side by side. As a result of the necessary adaptation to the shape of the terrain the forest hide field areas show variations. On slightly rolling ground the hides often rise on the slope, between parallel side slopes, also in manifold broadening spots or pointed places towards the field area end. If the space was scarce, the hide showed broader pieces on one

side, in order to have the full extension, if it was shorter. If the settlement is located in a circle, the hides were arranged accordingly; they radiated toward all sides. Another variation is the pattern, where the forest hide layout is organized on the basis of a definite plan and where it is necessary to add accessory pieces to the nucleus adjacent to the yard to obtain the planned total os surface for the property (unlike the complementary pieces which the peasants were given lateron). If this happened many times, the Gelaenge type became a very similar type of field area.

It was not necessary to distribute only full hides, when forest hide field areas were created. If yard rows with hide accessories were formed, property with several hides was formed, with semihides or hide parts. The measure is not always the hide; it was also the rod and a width of 12 to 14 rods was customary; with this number of rods, depending on the size of the rod, the notion of the property standard or the full hide was created. But there was also smaller property with $2/3$ of the full hide (with two fields, on the basis of 8 rods). In the field books the location is sometimes characterized with a line, because the individual pieces which are separated on a property, are situated one behind the other, so that the hide can be considered as a uniform 'line of land'. -As' degenerated form of forest hide, as the remnants of a settlement or as a young, not fully developed form we find a field area where small strips in a row are used as field and meadow, up to the copse at the field border, these strips border the yard. Such a layout which is gained from forest ground, can be called forest strip field area.

The field types obtain particular characteristics, if a manorial estate is in the neighborhood. Numerous shapes are possible in regard to the accessories of the manor. The estate can consist of block-like pieces, of rectangular and ribbon-like pieces. The manorial one-crop fields will always be characterized by their great size; they will always be conspicuous in the overall pattern. If there is a manorial estate or adjacent farm as an individual settlement, it covers the entire field area. Usually such field

area will consist of several one-crop fields. In view of the differences in soil, the use made for different types of cultivation and the system of the field economy with block and strip shaped field areas ^{blocks are} the/large one-crop fields and belong to the manorial estate. The mixed shape character of such field areas is based on the presence of such estate blocks. The small strips are usually given to small holders. If the field area is greatly mixed, they are distributed among a number of full peasant farms. On the Gewinn field areas the basic idea of the division of land into field areas of different soil quality requires that manorial accessories are also distributed among the Gewinn. They are conspicuous by their size and width or the Gewinn shares belonging to them. In the Gewinn field areas the one-crop fields of the estates can be separated which are located by themselves and take an uninterrupted space within the whole precinct. The same can be said of the forest hides: very often the estates cover several full hides which are located in the row of peasant hides forming regular one-crop-fields. One part of the entire field area can be reserved for the estate, ordinarily at the entrance to the field area, so that a large, block shaped formation is created without changing the overall character of the forest hide layout. Whatever shape the field area may have, attempts have always been made to put the estate land directly at the side of the manorial farm.

There are a few special types of field area division. In tracts which are favored by nature, near the Elbe, there are numerous field areas with vineyards, with terraces or in flat wine gardens at times on ordinary fields. Such premises are incorporated into very different types of field shapes: into block or strip shaped field areas, into Gewinn-like divisions etc. They have even part in forest hides. They have one thing in common: in the wine-growing regions the soil is particularly valuable, of different quality in different altitudes and locations, at the beginning the cultivation was done more as a sideline; in view of the rich profits made from it, it was quite popular and an

attraction for many people; consequently, the wine field areas are characterized by a division into very small parcels; this subdivision goes so far that we can speak of a predominance of dwarf property. Only the formerly royal vineyards make an exception. - The field areas with mining, hammer and forge works have the shape of large and small blocks, uninterrupted or with individual parcels. Mostly they are located in spots which had to be cleared from forest; there was wood cutting on these mountains; they got larger parts of the forest, and in the valleys they obtained water along the meadow grounds which extended their property considerably. There was only little extra land as fields. A similar situation applies to the mills which are situated by themselves, and of the inns (Kretscham Rotensehma).

The uninterrupted village field area is disintegrated, if the field area pieces which are dispersed and belong to the various houses and hides, directly border same and have no definite size, or if they were distributed without a clear regulation as to their subdivision. Then the property accessories are irregular small blocks and small strips; they are not located around the village but are loosely dispersed on the field area parcels which are used as meadow or small field; the entire space is perhaps not even combined in the sense of a local district, and in no case as an agrarian unit of a higher order. If the pieces are very small, and used for making hay for the cattle and if they are located directly behind the house, they are popularly called Haus 'Fleckeln' (house spots). This field area pattern is similar to the dispersed type of the block and strip field areas which were examined at the first place at the occasion of the discussion of the different types of field area shapes. But they appear to be still more irregular; they can give us an idea of the stage of development in the early times of history by showing field area conditions as we may have found them in the old regions in former times but which have been overcome by the progressing field area expansion within the local precinct borders.

In the formation of the field area division the creation of mixed forms is possible as it has been the case with the local layout. However, the possibilities of formation are less manifold here. The limitation of the use made of the fields which was connected with the layout of the field area, forced the people to adhere to the system of division which had been established in the local layout. The cause for the formation of mixed forms was the expansion of the field areas. Apart from a nuclear field area of specifically characteristic and regular manner the land can be cleared from wood; if the expansion develops gradually, the layout does not become planned and regular but creates shapes of irregular nature with blocks and strips besides the purely Gewinn-like field area parts or besides the longitudinal strips and forest hides. Another opportunity for the formation of mixed forms was provided by the mergers. If not an entire field area was merged but only part of it, for instance after the unification of several properties in one hand, after a purchase, an important change in the field area type could be achieved, for instance through the formation of large blocks or wide strips besides the originally small strips or Gewanne.

Finally, we have to point to the deserted field areas which were found during the survey around 1840 in great numbers as 'Marken' (marches) which existed by themselves. They do not represent a field area type of their own; they have in common that they have no living quarters, no buildings. The division of the field area differs and depends on the origin and the history of the use made of such marches; the march can have the shape of blocks or strips; it can be like a Gewinn or like a large one-crop field. Particularly instructive are the maps, in which the location and the contours of the deserted locality are clearly shown (Maschendorf in the field area of Schleenhain Southwest like 'Hoefchen' (little of Borna; field area places with names

yard) for instance in the march of Eisnitz, the field area of Hohenheida). Some of them have become estate or adjacent field areas; a^{new} peasant settlement may have been established there.

In the description of the different types of field areas the different conditions had to be pointed out on which the type of use made of the fields depended. The access to these pieces of land which belonged to a certain farm, created the basis for their economic usefulness. Therefore, the opening of a field area through the paths and roads which lead from the uards to the property belonging to them, was of greatest importance: the connection between the settlement place and the field area is reflected in these roads. A few remarks about the type of roads on the different field area types may be added. Various ways have to be distinguished according to a scale of importance: the great traffic routes running accoss the entire country which were often called military routes (the 'Reich streets' are among them); later on there were the so-called 'Landstrassen' (highways), then the ways connecting the different villages and towns, finally the field area ways in the sense proper which lead us to the fields, meadows and into the copse. The ridges between the fields have to be included here. The runs for the cattle are of special importance for the agricultural work. The ways and the division of the field areas depend on each other to a certain extent. The existing main roads or ways connecting the different villages were considered during the division of the fields. The borders of field area sectors and individual parcels run along such ways at times. In later periods new main roads were built; for the sake of creating the shortest possible connection they were often put across the Gewanne and parcels. In the network of the field paths proper a different degree of traffic was attained.

A progressive development was observed in the course of the formation of different field area types. In the case of field areas with a bellmong lbcation of the properties it was not possible to make all these pieces accessible by means of paths. This made the obligation of the 'Flurzwang' necessary, which was a regulation of the local community in regard to the cultivation of the soil, to prevent damage to the neighbors. The access over the land of the neighbors had to bereserved. There were special privileges of crossing, driving over etc, but in times of ripingfruit or crop limitations were imposed. The block and strip bellmong field areas were opened up by paths to the smallest extent. The network of paths on such field areas, if it was oreated at all, showed an entirely irregular shape, just as the field area itself. The buildingof roads andpaths was easier on field areas with a planned Gewinn formation. It was recommendable to create the Gewanne in such a manner that the paths ran alongside the borders to make access to the individual Gewinn pieces possible. Where this has been fully attained, we can feel the presence of a deciding will, during the first establishment or during changes made in later times. A higher degree of accessibility was attained on field areas with the longitudinal strips. Here it was possible, particularly during the formation of regular row strips (Gelaenge) to outline the field paths in such a manner that all pieces of property could be reached from them. The layout in the case of the forest hides was easiest. Either the paths wer established in such a manner that they ran through the hides, parallel to the property borders, or they were in the middle of the hides, so that each holder of a hide estate or of a partial hide was able to reach all land belonging to him on this path within his property. There were also crossways which cut through the field area in a vertical manner facilitating the access from the main roads. The network of ways andpaths was usually adapted to the particularl type of field area to such an extent that

it is possible for the modern onlooker to draw a conclusion from the course of the paths and roads entered on the topographical maps to the type of field area.

Survey over the Different Types of Field Areas

A. Location of cultivations

1. Field areas with changing land.
2. Field areas with the same type of cultivation:
 similar field areas of the same type.
3. Field areas with a bellmong of cultivations:
 - a) Arable land in dispersed location.
 - b) on mixed parcels.
4. Field areas with separated types of cultivation:
 - a) large-scale field economy.
 - b) in cultivation zones.
 - c) on ribbon strips of cultivation.

B. Division into property parcels.

I. Field areas with block type.

1. Blocks with irregular location.
2. Block and strip bellmong.
3. Blocks or strips in a regular location side by side.
4. One-crop fields of estates, block-shaped.

II. Quadrangular field areas (Gewanne)

1. Block Gewanne (with sector shares with short strips).
2. Planned Gewanne:
 - a) Field areas with 3 main Gewanne under the three-field-system (three-field Gewinn field areas, three-type Gewanne).
 - b) Gewinn field areas with several fields.
 To a and b: free allotment of land in the Gewanne (lot); even distribution according to the hide regulation.

c) Gewanne with imbedded manorial fields.

III. Field areas with longitudinal strips (Gelaenge)

1. Longitudinal strips (Gelaenge) in several (about 3) separated locations.
2. Longitudinal strips in rows (running parallel, field widths).

IV. Field areas in hide rows (forest hides)

1. With one-sided hide strips of each yard row.
2. Central location of yard with hide strips running through.
3. Radial forest hides.
4. Forest hides with main piece and accessory pieces.
5. Forest hide field areas with large on-crop fields.

V. Field areas with house and yard parcels.

(the parcels are mostly located near the living quarters or the workshop).

1. The field area accessories are uninterrupted.
2. Dispersed location:
 - a) irregular
 - b) regular planned location.

d) The Field Area Names

The field area is given a vivid expression by the field area names which must be studied in this context. We have not to deal with the way in which they are collected and explored and we have not to give the principles of linguistic interpretation; what we have to do is the description of the way in which they can be made useful for the conclusions from the history of the field areas.²¹

21) H. Beschorner, Hand Book of German Field Area Name Literature (1928); Same, Inf. on the Field Name Coll. in Sax., see Bull. Soc. Sax. Reg. Aff., vol. III-XIII; N. Arch., vol. 26 and f., 40.- Sax. Field Name Coll., publ. Joh. Leipoldt.-W. Uhlemann, Field Names and Field Hist. (Sax. and Anhalt, IV, 1928, p. 250 and f.).-J. Leipoldt, Sax. and N. Boh. in the Geogr. of Field Names (Res. on Hist. Sax. and Boh., 1937, p. 28 and f.).-M. Bathe, Geogr. of Field Names and Res. on Field Names (Sax. and Anh., XII, 50 and f.; 1936.).

We start with the observation that the creation of field area names is closely connected with the type of field area. The field area names are intended for the designation of certain spots and areas in the fields terrain. They were used by individual proprietors and in the community of the settlers in order to lay down the rights and customs in regard to the field area pieces so they are remembered by the following generations. These names rendered an important service, particularly in times, when other aides for the designation of the location were still poorly developed. The need for such names was different depending on the types of field areas concerned. With the bellmong field areas with their different blocks and strips which were dispersed, a particularly strong need for a clear designation would be established. Indeed, in connection with such village field areas we find numerous field area names in the older field books. At times all field pieces or most of them had names; then some of them were combined under a uniform name, where a division of a formerly larger piece of land may have occurred. In the case of the Gewann field areas, however, the naming of individual parcels is less important, and even not always possible. The Gewann-like field area sectors were named as a unit. Under the regulations governing the method of division, the ascertainment of the property of individual owners was facilitated. Sometimes there was a reason for a special name, particularly in the case of land which had not been incorporated into the regular division into Gewanne. The older field books contain relatively few names for such field areas, as far as genuine field area names are concerned. The situation was similar in the case of field areas with longitudinal strips. From the point of view of the owners there was a still smaller need for names for the uninterrupted hides which belonged uniformly to a yard. Here the entry of field area names into the older field books is seldom, at times even nonexistent. With the younger

dispersed settlements the names were used to a smaller extent; the small size of the property made distinctions unimportant. The number of field area names remains small. Whatever shape was prevailing, for the sake of change of the soil type and in view of the close personal ties of the owner to his pieces of land, in view of the remembrance of historical developments in connection with the land, a number of causes were existent for the formation of field area names in the older or younger field areas to clarify legal conditions, to lay down the customs and habits and to point to superstitious beliefs (ghost places). In the study of the field area names attention has to be paid to the relationship to the field area type. According to the different types of field areas the number of field area names compared with the size of the precinct, we could say the density of the field area names of the local field areas, shows characteristic differences. The differences in the number and type of field area names were based in the field area layout. This fact has to be observed in the study of the names, particularly in the statistic of names.

A first basic question is the origin of the field area names in regard to its linguistic aspect. Field area names can hardly be ascertained in pre-Slavonian times; a few mountain and water names of such high age do not lack. The oldest group of genuine field area names is formed by names from Slav root. The ability to form such Slav names slackened with the decline of public use of the Slav language between Elster and Elbe, in the centuries of the late Middle Ages, and discontinued soon entirely. The local name of the village and the shape of the settlement alone cannot decide about the Slav or German origin of the settlers; therefore, the field area names are an important aide, particularly in the question, whether a survival of a Slav population with a changing civilization, i.e. with the penetration of German civilization or the entrance of new German settlers into a village can be assumed. We have to be both ori-

tical and careful. Where we find Slav names in a precinct only in a few cases, they cannot be regarded as evidence for the use of the soil by a Slav population in the past. An uninterrupted colonization from the Slavonian time, also after the entrance of the Germans, can only be regarded as secured, if the number and the types of field area names of Slav origin confirm this. On the other hand, a lack of field area names of Slav origin cannot decide against the continuance of the settlement from the Slavonian time. Experience has shown that in the region of old colonization, where the Slav names of localities are predominant, the number of field area names which derived from the Slav language is strikingly small. This is intelligible because of German settlements and the later formation of field area names after the population had merged with the Germans. Only the careful evaluation of all factors involved will make it possible to form a well-founded historical judgment. In localities of Upper Lusatia, where the Wend speaking population has persevered up to modern times, the ability to form Slav field area names has been preserved up to younger times, or it was perhaps even resumed after German pattern. The entire way of forming Slav field area names among the Sorbs, corresponds to the custom which was observed in the German field areas.

The dialect has to be observed too, both among the German and Slav or possible mixed formations. Conclusions as to the former origin of the settlers on the basis of such dialects will meet difficulties in the period between the settling and the ascertainment of the field area name. The geographic comparison of words in the field of civilization, such as designations for domestic animals, all types of plants, birds and small animals in the forest and in the fields, for customs during the sowing and harvest, for the driving of the cattle to the pasture etc.

have made it possible to a great extent to discover differences which can be traced back to the origin of the settlers. The research done among the field area names in our country should be able to do the same. Instructive information has been ascertained already. The entrance or the influx on the colonizing zones is reflected in the field area names: from Eastern Franconia and the Northern District Nordgau (Peint, Rangen), from Thuringia (Gelaenge), from the Netherlands (Massen) to mention only a few examples.

If we study the contents of the field area names, their great manifoldness promises many data on the history of colonization and of the field areas. What the field area names tell us about the condition of the soil, is important, because it shows, how the soil ^{type and the shape of the field area} have been regarded in olden times. Here and there a field area name may tell us about changes which have occurred in the mean time (Bruch, Bruechtrig, Lohe as humid meadow ground, Haerte as a sour meadow, Nassgalle, Seif, Rang: lawn strips with bush). The field area names are important because they tell us about a greater distribution of standing waters, loam and sand pits, the collapse of old pit entrances etc. A number of field area names give us information about the former distribution of plants and animals. This results in observations of the history of the field area conditions, because the distribution of vegetation in historic times, open land, forest, meadow and moor and therewith also the change in the natural conditions of our fields are expressed in the names which are attached to a particular locality. In a great number of field area names the type of economy prevailing is reflected. They tell us about the kind of use made of the soil. Often they were formed to express the different types of cultivation; they tell us about the tilling of the fields, the pasture (Butterberg), the copse, also in such cases in which a change has occurred in the kind of cultivation applied. On the other hand the field area name preser-

ves the remembrance of the conditions prevailing during a period of time which was further back in history (copse names such as Eichicht, Lindicht etc. at places, where after the clearing from forest, there are fields today). Direct information on the interpretation of the field area order is given by those names in which expressions of the surveying and of the field division are contained. Often the field area names tell us about the 'Arten' and 'Felder' customary in a certain field area, about the Zelgen (tilled fields) (under the three-field-system), the marken and Gewende, the Striche, the Gehren (~~Gehren~~ which are pointed pieces of land, the Haus- and Hofge-laenge, Breiten and Queren (Quiere) etc. There are field area names according to the number of Morgen, Acker and ^{Ruten} (rods) (Zweimorgen, Zweieinhalbmorgan, Dreissigacker, Zwoelfacker, Acht-, Sechsrutenstuecke) for each field area sector or the size of the Gewinn share. On the Kabel (strip parcels) it was customary for a certain time, to distribute the land by lots. The field area name Jahrfeld, also Gartenfeld, designates the pieces in the field area which are not incorporated into the three-field-system and are usually used as field gardens. Cattle raising and pasture are reflected in the terms Hirtengarten, Ochsenwiese, Viehweg (Fiebig), Trift, Anspann, Hutberg; the upper German Egert(e) point toward the rotation of grass and field economy. Here we have also the field area names which designate the hide, especially the goldene Hufe, or several hides, at times in a location where the size of the hide can be established or at places, where the hide division has been covered up in the mean time and is only recognizable by the field area names. The Heimbufen are closely related with the village; land which was not distributed at first and remained unsurveyed, was called. Oberschar, Ueberschar, Oberland; pieces which were given to the farms later on, were called Folgen. Lehde was land which was left uncultivated. Many field area names were given after the owner and indicate property distribution in the past. Church property

is also reflected; there are simple names such as Pfarrhufe, Pfarrwald, Zehntfeld, but also more difficult names such as names which point back to olden Catholic times (Fruehmesser, also in mutilated popular words). Some field area names show formerly existing common property of the community (Gemein-^{of}haenel, Rugebaenke as a place of court). ^{of}Direct importance for the history of colonization are the names which disclose that a settlement was deserted: Burgstaedtel and Burgstall, Borstel etc., wueste Dorfstaette, wueste Mark, Hof (at times the same as hide) and Hoefchen; then names which have emerged from names of deserted settlements. Here the field area names can give us important information on the entire local history of colonization. The network of ways, roads and paths finds also its expression in the names, with several remembrances of roads which in the mean time have lost their importance. Some give ^{useful}information on the field economy (Rasenweg, Triftweg, Ochsensteig). Finally, customs and habits and popular beliefs from old community life have continued to live in the field area names: there were expressions such as Tanzberg, Scheibe (places for St. John's fire etc.), Osterberg, Pfingstanger; there are names for places where ghosts are moving about (the man without head, the fire dog etc.), often in connection with field legends. The abundance of field area names offers a rich opportunity to elucidate most important facts in the history of the field areas, to illustrate in a lively manner the colonization and the field areas and to explain ^{it}in an impressive manner on the basis of the popular mentality.

3. The types of localities and field areas and their relationship toward each other; the historic origin of the settlement type.

In the study of the types of villages and field areas, particularly in the description of the village area and the loca-

tion of the village, we have seen several times that the two forms are in a remarkable relationship toward each other. They are not entirely parallel, however. The shape of the village has undergone changes, when buildings were extended and new buildings and fields were created, but the field area was not changed on account of this. In the same way a change in the division of the field area such as it was caused by decisive measure taken in older times, or by the mergers and the division and distribution of community land of the 19th century, was possible without resulting in an important modification of the shape of the residential locality. Experience shows that the main types of settlements and of the field area organization parallel each other to a certain extent and that the basis of this is found in the fundamental conditions underlying village life, particularly underlying the life of the peasants. This puts up the problem of the shape of the settlements. In the settlement both are combined, the layout of the residence and the use made of the field area belonging to it, which gives the settlers a basis for their existence. If we compare the evaluation of the types of villages and field areas we notice that differences of shape can be found on the village ground-plan in a greater number of details than in the field area. The building shapes of the residential houses and villages can be expressed in a much more manifold way than the type of land distribution in the field area. The result is a certain simplification of the typical settlement forms. However, the shape of the locality is important. It would not be sufficient to characterize the settlement types only after the shape of the field area.

Three main groups of settlements have to be distinguished according to the way in which they came into being. Here the relationship of the individual household to the village community is of decisive importance. There are settlements which appear to have grown in a natural way, without a clear planning which would have

allotted the individual household a location with field areas belonging to it on the basis of a certain rule. In other settlements a shaping plan which was put into practice according to the ideas and the will of the community or of the founder of the village, created the village layout and the field organization; a formal founding ceremony opened the project. Finally, there are settlements, where a firm shape did not exist at the time of the foundation, but there was a certain regularity and guiding principle for the formation of village parts or fields. Then there are subdivisions which will be characterized in the following.

In the Kingdom of Saxony we can hardly find a type of settlement in individual houses or farm-yards which is spread to such an extent that it would give the landscape pattern its characteristics. The individual house and the individual farm-yard, even the separately located estate or adjacent farm, are the exception here. Mostly they are working places of larger villages or remote and small settlement places. In the case of extremely small farm-yard groups it is possible that they developed from an individual farm-yard. Individual farms have usually got irregular field area pieces in the neighborhood of the houses; individual estates the fields are also connected with planned large one-crop fields; it is not impossible that longitudinal, ribbon-like accessories are added.

Among the not planned settlement in this country the group of farm-yards, the peasant hamlet, are widely spread. The estate hamlet also belongs to this type of settlement as a special type with characteristic traits. Such settlement places are equipped with field areas of the block and strip-shaped bellmong location. The village space is not firmly surrounded. The appurtenances of the field area belongs to the individual households and there is no general uniform plan of distribution. If there is the yard of an estate at such a locality, we find the presence of larger

block-like field area pieces' one-crop fields. The hoard village can also be found in our country, but it is present only in certain tracts and only in rare cases. It appears like an enlarged group of farm-yards which has grown. Therefore the strip bellmong location can be found in the field areas of the hoard villages, but it appears more orderly. The connection or combination of the small hoard village with the block Gewann field area can be called typical, although it is not represented exclusively as such. A regular field area type is found among the villages of hoard village shape; in larger field areas the types are mixed.

The layout with a closed ring around the village distinguishes itself from the layout in the open village space. Here the settlement trait appears to be modified only degrees. Small villages which are similar to the hamlets as far as their number of yards is concerned, have the same field layout as that settlement type with which they have essential traits in common. Among the larger villages which are surrounded by a ring, the planned layout is predominant.

This is clearly seen among the villages which are built in a circle. The small open circular hamlets and the radial villages with a closed village ring toward the outside and the formation of a small place in the interior have usually field areas with block and strip bellmong. In the large round meadow villages there are field areas of a corresponding type, but it was often necessary to create a block Gewann division, at least in the lines of the later development of the field areas. At times we find a division of a recognizable Gewann type, very regular, with large planned Gewanne, in Saxony only with mixed types which can be interpreted by the expansion or younger formation.

Closely related to the round meadow village is the place village with a three-sided or similarly shaped place in the interior; the latter may be both empty or used as a meadow. This similarity is still clearer, if such a village is located on a round vil-

lage space. The shape shows a greater degree of planning. Therefore, it can be understood, that the field area usually has larger regular Gewanne.

The layout of the lane villages must be led back to a certain plan, even it is a simple one. A certain regularity of the field shape corresponds to this. There are cases, where the block and strip shape is the basis, e.g. at the dead-end lanes which are a kind of radial units which become more and more narrow. Mostly the field areas are located in line-like rows strip, one could say like Gewann strips. Seldom they are real Gewanne. Sometimes oldest field area parts with small irregular strips have to be separated from the really developed or regulated field area; this instructive relationship clearly illustrates the development of colonization.

A large type with entirely regular village layout are the meadow villages of longitudinal-rectangular, seldom lense-shaped or oval shape, as well as the street villages, where the interior space of the village has only the width of a street. Both village types are creations of a rural community. The field areas show a planned layout accordingly, with a few rectangular Gewanne, often with a clear-cut field division on the basis of the system of the three-field-economy (as three-Gewann field areas, three-kind-field areas). There are also meadow villages with a looser organization; their fields show the longitudinal type. Here we see the above mentioned relationship of the longitudinal strips which are found in groups, with the large Gewanne. The meadow villages are very regular; their yards are in loose rows connected with field strips. Such village types represent a transitory form to the loose^{ly} rowed villages with free field area types.

The row villages in the open village space are a group of settlements which have not been created according to a firm plan in a uniform manner but which have developed from the layout with a certain regularity. The individual yard is entitled to a share in the field area with which^{it} is directly connected.

On the basis of greater independence the village has an opportunity to develop more freely. There are two possibilities. If a short row or double row of yards is formed which does not run through the entire field area, the field area appurtenances for each yard are allotted in several pieces. The result is the formation of rows of longitudinal strips. If the entire field appurtenances are situated directly at the yard, usually in a long broad strip, the rows of forest hide settlements are formed: Villages with long rows and forest hide field areas usually correspond to each other.

Finally, we have to mention the dispersed settlement of the younger period of development. It is a block or strip-like, irregular field formation; it is unlike the type of the older location in bellmong pieces, but mostly with the parcels being directly connected with the individual residential houses, so that the ring of the settlement types is almost closed.

Besides the basic types of settlement which were described above, there are composed or mixed types. There are numerous variations depending on the local development. It would not be worthwhile to put up a classification of typical possibilities. Depending on the development of a village the formation of a composed village type will be paralleled by a change of the field shapes, or not. If agriculture is developed and new peasant farms are established, the possibility to change the field area is much easier than with the formation of house owner land at the village the inhabitants of which are engaged in trades or work for wages. The establishment of large works settlements will bring about a big change of the field area types; in the case of very large plants the entire field area can be absorbed. In cases of a simple accumulation of new living places at the settlement which are not mainly engaged in agriculture, an essential change of the field area does not take place. Only the number of the small field parcels increases. When a double-shape is formed (double lane,

double street), this is reflected in a repetition of two similar field areas which are combined in a unit, unless a complete merger takes place. In the case of mongrel shapes with a mixture of various local elements the field area is mostly redistributed or newly regulated, because the shape of the village itself is expanded according to a certain plan or reorganized. When deserted areas go over into a large precinct and at the area of settlement a gathering group of village parts comes into being, this will be reflected in the different field area types which are represented in the new march. It is also possible that an entirely new field area distribution takes place on the basis of a new plan. It will be the job of the research on the colonization of our homeland to go deeper into these peculiarities.

All this has paved the way towards a historic judgment of the described settlement types, as soon as we can overlook their geographical distribution, observe the principles of the history ^{consider} of colonization and also the linguistic phenomena which are closely connected with the colonization. A general and conclusive survey may be offered here. The different types of settlements are distributed in a characteristic manner from the Weisse Elster to areas beyond the Spree. There are three main zones: areas of the regions which have been colonized long ago, zones of new settlements on green meadows and planned settlement changes as well as areas of original colonization in the wild forest. We can add to this the marginal zones and the small areas with the remaining settlements which were established, when the land was cleared from forest. In topographical districts of smaller circumference which represent a historically significant unit conditioned by nature, they can be found in a characteristic grouping so that most of the shapes are also represented in these small spaces, old districts with their border.

In wide areas of the regions of old colonization the characteristic basic shape of settlement is the small loose group of

yards of the peasant hamlets with the field areas which are divided up into block and strip bellmong. The development of such settlement type is favored by the hilly and rolling character of the ground. The settlements cling to the terrain; they are located in places where they are protected against the winds, in small deepenings, often around spring depressions or at the exit of small valleys or at the edge of larger brooks. This distribution area concurs essentially with the uninterrupted area of Slav village names (including German-Slav names which are mixed). The conclusion can be drawn that the Slav population of our regions ~~in a way from which~~ such types of colonization have directly emerged. This does not mean that the original way of colonization of the Slavs is characterized by this. It has been customary also among other races; it was not unknown among the Teutonic tribes. But in our regions it is recognized as the way of settlement of the Dalaminziers, the Milces and other Sorbic races. A special shape as the forest hamlet which had been known among the Slavs who were engaged in the collection of honey from wild bees in the woods, and which has been in existence till modern times. In the same way the peasant hamlet has been a type of early German colonization of the land or of the country. The estate hamlets belong to this group as well. In their case there is a twofold possibility. It cannot be excluded that hamlets with a kind of larger yards may go back to ^{olden} Slav times. As a rule the estate yards will have come into being only through the occupation with warriors; the great majority of the latter was of German origin. Therefore it must be emphasized, that field areas with conspicuous block pieces are already a factor of change under German domination. The purely short-strip pattern and even the division with fields which are similar to the block Gewanne, are found at such villages which have to be ascribed to Slav inhabitants. The regulated strips in the field areas of hamlet-like settlement places are to be interpreted in terms of a later regu-

lation, the short or longer fields which can be found here and there and which were created at a later period.

A similar distribution is shown by the organization which resembles the lane villages. Most frequently they are found in the Northwestern part of our country, alongside the high banks of the larger rivers (Elster, Pleisse) and alongside the edges of the meadows of the sidebrooks (Schnauder, Goessel etc.) They can also be found in the Mulde and Elbe regions and in Upper Lusatia. It is characteristic that this type of village layout is often found in the fishermen's settlements; they can be compared to the so-called Kietzen of the March of Brandenburg and of Lower Lusatia. These village patterns show often Slav names; they were founded in the Slav period. But the time of the lane villages as a type of settlement is a little younger; new villages were established in this shape up to the German period and partly also during the latter; the names like Nauberg and those ending with -rode show us. As it has been said above, the lane villages are mostly connected with field areas with a more regulated type than the block and strip field areas of the hamlet settlement. It can, therefore, be assumed that the presently existing lane villages received their shape only during the periods of German domination and under German civilization, because the four-sided yard pattern which dominated among them and on which the village pattern is dependent, shows the character of the Central German house and yard style. Even in very young periods the formation of new villages was possible in this shape; we will point this out later on.

A peculiar position in historic respect is taken by the villages with a round shape. The open radial hamlets have to be judged in the same manner as the hamlet-like settlements which we have discussed already. They have to be considered mainly Slav, but in some areas early German foundations, unless they were established through a reorganization. The entirely corresponding small radial villages with the close village ring around them, few in numbers,

have to be traced back to a Slav custom in connection with the history of colonization. Both is possible: that formerly open small villages of such radial shape were fenced for defense and that in younger times the formerly closed pattern of the radial villages was loosened up which can be seen by a comparison of maps from the 17th to the 19th centuries. The large round meadow villages take a different position. They are more seldom. They are mostly in the marginal zone of the regions of old colonization of a landscape and are characterized by this as places of colonization. The defense character is explained by their location in the borderland. In our regions such round meadow villages have almost exclusively Slav names. In some instances the Slav origin of the population can be clearly ascertained (the Saupes at Stoebnig near Rochlitz, later on with Official German privileges). At these places it can be assumed that the original population was Slav, but the villages themselves in the pattern which has been preserved, have come into being only in the times of German domination. Also the style of the yards ^{in these large radial villages} shows the Central German shape. The round meadow village proves a German-Slav mixture. The field area shapes belonging to it are of different shapes. The antique block and strip shapes have partly been maintained (Borthen-Burgstaedtel and Suerssen near Dohna). In some cases block Gewanne were formed (Ragewitz Southeast of Grimma) but there are also field areas with a planned Gewinn distribution (Gottscheina ^{North of} Leipzig); in this we can also see a younger element under German civilization.

The planned, regular meadow villages of longitudinal shape (rectangular or oval) with their orderly Gewinn field areas must be considered as creations of the period of the great German movement of colonization in our regions. The same applies to the street villages proper. The ground-plan is adapted entirely to the Central German yards. To a large extent the names of these villages are German. They remind us of the lord of the manor who

founded them or the contractor who started building them.

In some cases there are village names of Slav origin. Even here we can find in several cases that German settlers established themselves here. This type of village can be clearly recognized as a foundation on the basis of a German-legal and racial-German colonization ; however, in some instances we find in the name of such a village an allusion to a Wend population (Wendisch-Luppa besides Deutsch-Luppa near Oschatz, Wendisch-Basslitz). Only an exact local investigation can find out, whether a complete^{ly} new organization of the^{village with a} formerly Slav population through new German settlers must be assumed or whether the population of Slav origin found a home after German pattern and merging with the Germans . Peculiar is the geographic distribution of these villages in the most Northern and flat tracts of our^{extending} regions, from the surroundings of Leipzig via Wurzen towards the Elbe, and beyond to Grossenhain to Upper Lusatia and also toward the Schraden. To judge by various kinds of information, linguistic characteristics and the customary inheritance law the so-called Flemish (Netherland) colonization had spread here or found its imitation in these areas. However, the meadow and street village cannot be considered as an exclusively Flemish type of settlement. It bears more the general colonial character of the^{German} East. However, we have to assume the introduction under Flemish influence in our regions, as the methods of measuring the land and various field area names point to this (the Massen, 'Art' in field names). Where marshy land had to be cultivated, in the neighborhood of the Elbe (near Riesa) much speaks in favor of the assumption of a real Flemish infiltration; The origin from the wide area of geographic distribution of Dutch colonization in the Southern and Northeastern Hartz areas is quite possible, and even probable. This settlement type of the street and meadow village extends along the Elbe, but not of Flemish origin, upstream to Dresden, particularly along the Eastern bank of the Elbe, around

Dresden on both banks (Dresden-Striesen and -Strehlen, with a Franconian influence).

A somewhat different position is taken by the meadow villages with field areas of the longitudinal strip type. They have developed from Thuringia and are found in the Vogtland and its border zones where the field area names (Hofgelaenge) prove this type of pattern. Similar patterns are found further East; it can be left open to discussion, whether they were under the direct influence of those Western zone of distribution or where they had developed separately. The place names are German. These village and fieldarea patterns must be regarded as a creation of the German colonization; usually they belong to the early periods of ^{German} colonization. Later on, the villages with short rows and a meadow-like interior space came into being, with their regular longitudinal strips in the field area. They are definitely of German origin; they have German names, often with the indication that the land was cleared from forest here; they must be regarded as a transitory phenomenon in the development towards the forest hide villages; in terms of space they are mostly located in a transitory zone.

The row villages with the characteristic forest hides have often been described as a pattern of medieval German settlements on land which was cleared from forest, and they have been clearly recognized as such. According to the pattern of the yards, the style of the house and the methods of surveying their German character has been clearly proved. The Franconian origin of this pattern is clearly elucidated. In the environment of Lausick, where the settling of farmers from Franconia at the time of Wiprecht von Groitzsch has been ascertained, an early formation of the forest hide can be established; this does not apply to the villages with long rows but to smaller yard groups; this corresponds well to the descriptive report. The row villages with

the forest hides appear clearly formed in the area of the Triebisch, South of Meissen where settlers of Franconian origin are mentioned in documents (Taubenheim), and in the environment of Freiberg village and field area patterns are evidence for the Franconian origin of the row village settlements there with the orderly forest hides. In the Southern forests in the mountains they are widely spread, field area after field area. Often they combine in the valleys to form extensive and large village formations. Where the terrain requires it, we also find short forms or villages built on one side, even radial row villages in a valley basin or around a spring depression. The settlement pattern which we can find extending from the Northeastern Vogtland to Upper Lusatia can be interpreted as being of Franconian origin; comparable patterns exist in Eastern Franconia. In the more Western, original Germany the forest hide pattern has been preshaped already; the first patterns of this type were found near Hirschau in the Black Forest and in the Oden Forest as well as on the Central part of the Rhine from where possibilities were existent for colonizing families to advance towards the Northeast. Around the Fichtelgebirge they are still irregular; some of them can be ascertained in the Thuringian Forest. They obtained their 'classic', orderly shape apparently in the region of Meissen/Saxony from where the further great advance towards the far/^{German}East was made.

The settlement patterns are very manifold among the village and field area divisions of the periods following the colonization and in the periods of the modern extension of cultivation. The settlement patterns which were used, were not definite. They had to adapt to the available space and selected their shapes from traditional types just as the opportunity presented itself. We find individual houses and individual yards, small hamlets, small lane-like villages, hardly extensive meadow and street villages, here and there, in the mountains, patterns with row shapes, at times even the exact application of the forest hides (Scheller-

hau near Kipsdorf), then foundries and hammerworks, mills (for wood working, paper production etc.), and finally, the big works settlements which added a new type of pattern into the picture.

This interpretation of the different patterns of colonization lays the ground for a historic appreciation of rural colonization in our regions. The problem of the patterns of colonization can only be solved after a diversified observation of the conditions of the terrain, the economy and social strata, the origin of the settlers' customs and the agrarian and colonizing policies. This can be done only after the explanation of the most important ^{basic} types and after the study of the various regional districts the characteristics of which have to be interpreted in their interdependence of historic and topographical factors.

List of Field Maps.

I. Field area types with blocks

1. Blocks with irregular distribution:

1. Libon, Upper Lusatia; 2. Zischkowitz, Upper Lusatia; 3. Zscharnitz, Upper Lusatia; 4. Messbach, Vogtland.

2. Block and strip bellmong:

5. Zollschwitz, Lommatzsch Land; 6. Crepta, Lommatzsch Land; 7. Biesern near Rochlitz.

3. Blocks and strips with regular distribution, side by side:

8. Poititz, Lommatzsch Land; 9. Neckanitz, Lommatzsch Land; 10. Niederfaehre near Meissen; 11. Passditz, Upper Lusatia.

4. Large one-crop fields of block shape belonging to estates:

12. Magdeborn near Leipzig; 13. Hammergut (hammerworks estate) Gleissberg near Glasshuette.

II. Gewinn Field Areas.

1. Block Gewanne with short strip sector shares:

14. Stoebnig near Rochlitz; 15. Gostritz near Dresden; 16. Zoellnitz near Rochlitz.

2. Planned Gewanne:

- a) Field areas with three main Gewanne according to the three-field-system:

17. Gottscheina near Leipzig; 18. Ploesen near Leipzig; 19. Loebtau near Dresden.

b) Gewinn field areas with several fields:

20. Frankenheim near Leipzig; 21. Panitzsch near Leipzig.

c) Gewanne with imbedded manorial fields:

22. Adelsdorf near Grossenhain.

III. Field areas with longitudinal strips

1. Longitudinal strips with several separate locations:

23. Burkersdorf, Vogtland.

2. Longitudinal strips in rows:

24. Heuersdorf near Borna; 25. Hilmsdorf near Rochlitz.

IV. Field areas with hide rows. (Forest hides)

1. With one-sided hide strips of each farm-yard row:
 26. Sora near Meissen; 27. Roellingshain near Leipzig; 28. Altmittweida near Rochlitz.
2. Central location of the yard with hide strips running through:
 29. Dittmannsdorf near Rochlitz.
3. Radial forest hides:
 30. Günsdorf, Vogtland; 31. Bockendorf, Erzgebirge.
4. Forest hides with main pieces and accessory pieces:
 32. Flemmingen near Gerigswalde; 33. Ottendorf near Hainichen.
5. Forest hide field areas with one-crop fields belonging to estates:
 34. Oberrennersdorf, Upper Lusatia.

V. Field areas with house and farm-yard parcels

1. The field areas accessory fields are uninterrupted:
 35. Rehefeld, Erzgebirge; 36. Neue Welt near Schwarzenberg.
2. Dispersed distribution:
 37. Gottesberg, Vogtland; 38. Tannenbergsthal, Vogtland.

VI. Deserted Marches

39. Wuestenhain near Borna; 40. Flickert March near Leipzig

Remarks on the attached field maps.

The attached field maps are intended to explain the typical field area patterns which were described by Koetzschke (page and following); their order corresponds to the list he put up himself (p. and following). A detailed study of these field areas as it was planned formerly on the basis of the plan of the 'Saxonian Field Map Atlas' was not made; therefore, it was not possible either, to enter on all maps the types of cultivation and the distribution of property. Instead, a few hints may be given on literature dealing with these field patterns:

I. 1. There are no studies available on the field areas of the hamlets in Upper Lusatia; we have still to refer to W.Frenzel, The Patterns of Colonization and Field Areas of Upper Lusatia, Upper Lusatian Folklore Studies, no.5, 1924 (Oberlausitzer Heimatstudien). For Northwest Saxony M.Mueller described such field areas in his publication: Landschaftsbild und Siedlungsgeschichte des Ostteils der Leipziger Tieflandsbucht (Landscape Picture and History of Colonization of the Eastern Part of the Leipzig Lowland Bay), Schriften fuer Heimatforschung (Publ. for Local Hist.) no.3, 1939, p. 49 and following. Among the block field areas of the old region of colonization those of the Vogtland show a structure which is different. fJoh. Leipoldt has provided information on this: Die Geschichte der ostdeutschen Kolonisation im Vogtland auf der Grundlage der Siedlungsformenforschung (The History of the East German Colonization in the Vogtland on the Basis of the Research done on the Patterns of Colonization), 1927, p.30 and following. Compare the critical appreciation on Leipoldt's publication by W.Emmerich: Bemerkungen zur Besiedlung des Fichtelgebirges und seiner Vorlande (Remarks on the Colonization of the Fichtelgebirge and its Foreland), Von Land und Kultur (Of Civilization and Country), Festival Publ. for Koetzschke, 1937, p.124 and following.

2. On Biesern see W.Schlesinger, Die Besiedlung des Landes um Rochlitz, Buch der Landschaft Rochlitz (The Colonization around Rochlitz, Book of the Region of Rochlitz), 1936, p. 103 and following. Compare also the remarks on Rhaesa near Nossen by Joh.Langer, Heimatkundliche Streifzuege durch Fluren und Orte des Erzgebirges und seines Vorlandes (Local Excursions through Field Areas and Places of the Erzgebirge and its Foreland), 1931, p. 41 and following, fig.5, and by R.Koetzschke, Die Siedelformen des deutschen Nordostens und Suedostens in volks-und sozialgeschichtlicher Betrachtung (The Patterns of Colonization of the German Northeast and Southeast in their National and Social Aspects.), Deutsche Ostforschung (German Eastern Research), Festival Publ. for Brackmann, I, 1942, p.375 and following.

3. Niederfaehre belongs to the above (p.286) mentioned vineyard field areas with block and strip division.

4. Magdeborn and Geissberg were established at different periods of time. Magdeborn is the block field area of a manorial estate which came into being during the period of the German colonization of the East; see R.Koetzschke, Die Fruhzeit deutscher Kultur auf Leipzigs Heimatboden (The early Period of German Civilization on Local Leipzig Areas); see also Reumuth, Heimatgeschichte von Leipzig (Local History of Leipzig), 1927 p. 72; The hammerworks settlement of Gleissberg belongs to the special patterns from the period of miners' settlements which were established in the Erzgebirge; this includes Gleissberg's field areas. See above p. 286.

II. 1. In regard to block Gewinn field areas see W.Ebert, Das Wurzenzer Land which gives general information; It is a contribution to the Description of Regional Affairs and the research on Colonization, Local Series, I, 1930, p.77; Same author, Laendliche Siedelformen im Deutschen Osten (Rural Settlement Types

in the German East), 1937, p.34 and following and p.70. On Stoebnig see also above p.307. On Gostritz compare A.Meitzen, Siedlung und Agrarwesen der Westgermanen und Ostgermanen, der Kelten, Roemer, Finnen und Slaven(Colonization and Agriculture of the Western Teutons and the Eastern Teutons, of the Kelts, the Romans, Finns and Slavs) III,1895, p.423 and the atlas vol. annex 128.Regarding Zoellnitz see W.Schlesinger, Besiedlung um Rochlitz (Settlement around Rochlitz), p.105 and following. In the case of this village field area we can hardly speak of pure block Gewanne as in the case of Stoebnig. Here the block Gewanne group around larger blocks which belong preponderantly to an estate.

2a. On Gottscheine see above p. 307 and Koetzschke-Reumuth, p.73. Ploesen is described in detail as an individual example by M.Mueller,p.61 and following. The Northern part of the field area shows an entirely regular Gewinn field area, the Southern part, however, a Gewinn field area in irregular blocks facing each other which differ from each other also in regard to their size and shape. About the transformation of the block field area of this oldest part of the precinct into block Gewanne see after Mueller's preliminary work also A.Helbok, Deutsche Siedlung, Wesen Ausbreitung und Sinn (German Colonization, its Distribution, Nature and Meaning) ,1938, annex no.63/4.

b. On Frankenheim see Koetzschke-Reumuth, p.75 ; on Panitzsch see M.Mueller, p.65 and following and H.Quirin, Panitzsch, eine Heimatgeschichte (Panitzsch, a Local History) , 1937, p. 12 and following, p.23 and following. In the field mark of Panitzsch there are two deserted places, Wilschwitz in the West and Cunnnersdorf in the East.

III. The Gelaenge (longitudinal strips) is an expression which was first introduced and described by Joh.Leipoldt,Kolonisation im Vogtland, p.35 and following; see also W.Ebert, Siedelformen im deutschen Osten (Types of Colonization in the German East), p.36 and following, p.71. Regarding Burkersdorf

compare Leipoldt, p.180 and following, see also above p. on Heuersdorf compare W.Heinich, Wiprecht von Groitsch und seine Siedlungen (Wiprecht von Groitsch and his Settlements), 1932, p.??; for Hilmsdorf compare W.Schlesinger, Besiedlung um Rochlitz (Colonization around Rochlitz), p.110 and following. At this example which cannot be considered a pure Gelaenge(longitudinal strips) type the first signs of a transition to a field area division into forest hides can be noticed but the direct connection with the yard is lacking. On the other hand the distribution of property over several field sectors, the most characteristic trait of the typical Gelaenge is lacking.

IV. Considerable literature can be found in Saxony on the field areas which show hide rows (forest hides). Compare W. Ebert, Siedelformen im deutschen Osten (Patterns of Colonization in the German East), p.37 and following, p.71 and following. The villages belonging to this group are partly older than assumed. Sora can be established as a foundation of Franconian colonists already for the year 1186. For Roellingsham see Koetzschke-Reumuth, p.76; for Moosheim see J.Langer, Heimatkundliche Streifzuege (Local Excursions), e.g. table 20. Among the villages with hide strips on one side in the back of each row of yards on both banks of the brooks there is also Waltersdorf in Upper Lusatia which is described by J.Prochno, Beitrage zur Siedlungsgeschichte des Zittauer Gebirges (Contributions to the History of Colonization of the Zittau Mountains), Zitt. Geschichtsbll. (Hist.Bull. of Zittau) no.14, 1937, p.30; see the map by Koetzschke's Deutsche Ostforschung (German Eastern Res.), I, p.383. - For Dittmannsdorf see Schlesinger, Besiedlung um Rochlitz (Colonization around Rochlitz), p.111 and following. - The radial forest hides were described by Joh.Leipoldt, Kolonisation im Vogtland (Colonization in the Vogtland), p.46 and following, a.o. also Gunsdorf. For Bockendorf see Joh.Langer,

Heimatkundliche Streifzuege (Local Excursions), table 17.

The same author examined in greater detail the field area of Dittersbach near Purschenstein, Erzgebirge in his publication: Ausbau des deutschen Kolonisationswerkes in der Freiburger Landschaft (Expansion of the German Colonization in the Freiberg Landscape), Mitteilungen des Freiburger Altertumsvereins (Bull. Freiberg Hist. Soc. 58, 1936, p. 30. - For Ottendorf as an example for a forest hide field area with main pieces and accessory pieces see at the same place, p. 28 and above p. 285 - The field area conditions prevailing at Rennerdorf were described by Moeschler: Gutsherrliche-bauerliche Verhaeltnisse in der Oberlausitz (The Relationship between the Manorial Estates and the Peasants in Upper Lusatia), 1906, p. 2, 36 and following.

V. There are hardly any individual studies made on the field areas with house and yard parcels in the dispersed settlements and the works hamlets. Compare the descriptions given above on p. 263 and 286 and the dispersed remarks found in the studies on the history of colonization in the Erzgebirge by Joh. Langer.

VI. Compare above p. 105 and 288. The development which led to the desertion of the settlements to which the marches of Wuestenhain and Flickert belonged, is not described here; it was not possible to do so. For the development of combined research done on the settlements and the desertions see W. Ebert, Wurzen Land, p. 54 and following (Koerlitz) and p. 63 and following (the problem of desertion), and W. Mueller, in the above mentioned place, p. 65 and following (Panitzsch); The latter gives general information; the latest results of research are summed up by H. Beschoner, Die Wuestungen und ihre Erforschung in Deutschland (The Deserted Settlements and their Exploration in Germany), particularly in Saxony, Blaetter fuer Deutsche Landeskunde (Bull. f. Germ. Regional Affairs, 85) 1939, p. 180 and following.

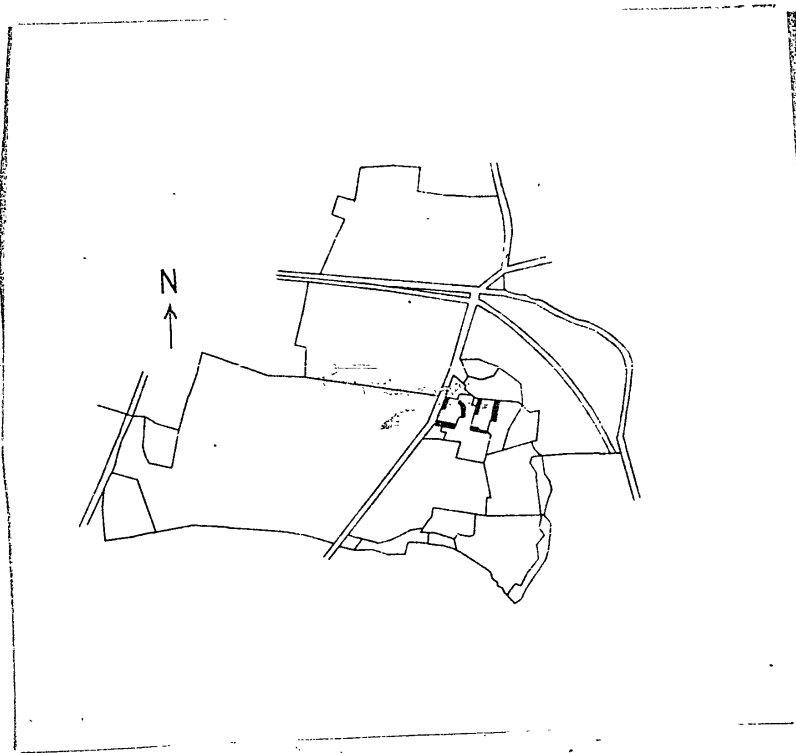


Fig.1

Libon

appr.1:12 500

today part of the village of Stor-
cha, Northwest of Bautzen, Upper
Lusatia (Location:Top.Map 1:25 000
No.4751.)

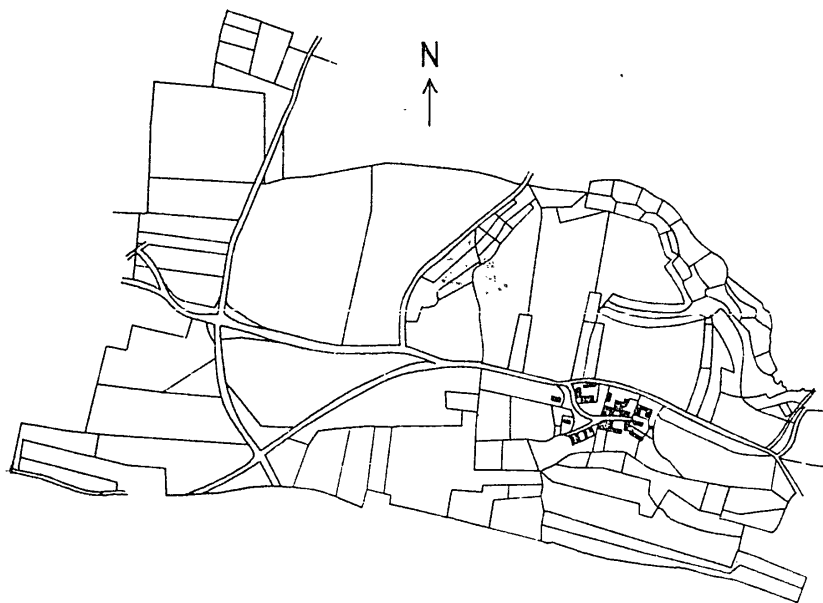


Fig.2

Zischkowitz

appr.1:12 400

today part of Coblenz, Northwest of Bautzen, Upper Lusatia (Location: Top. Map 1:25 000, no. 475 485)

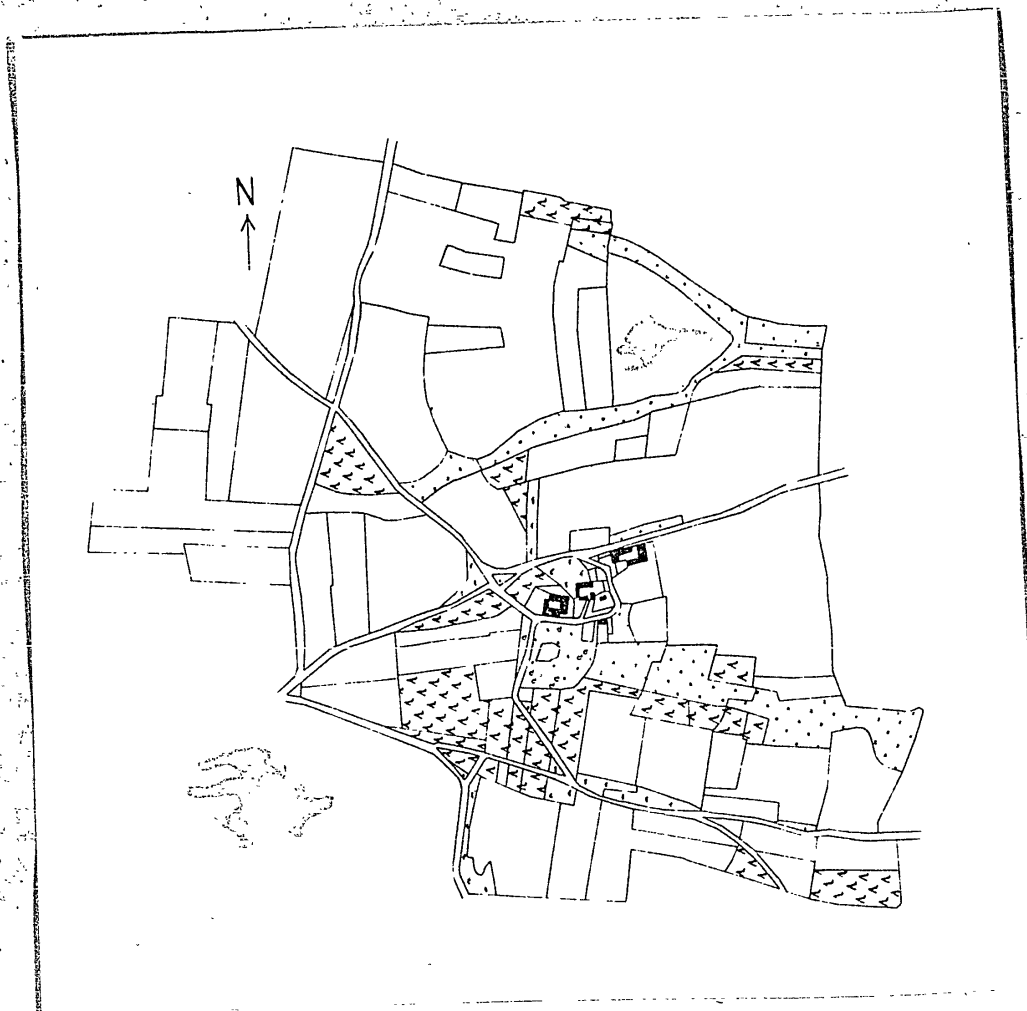
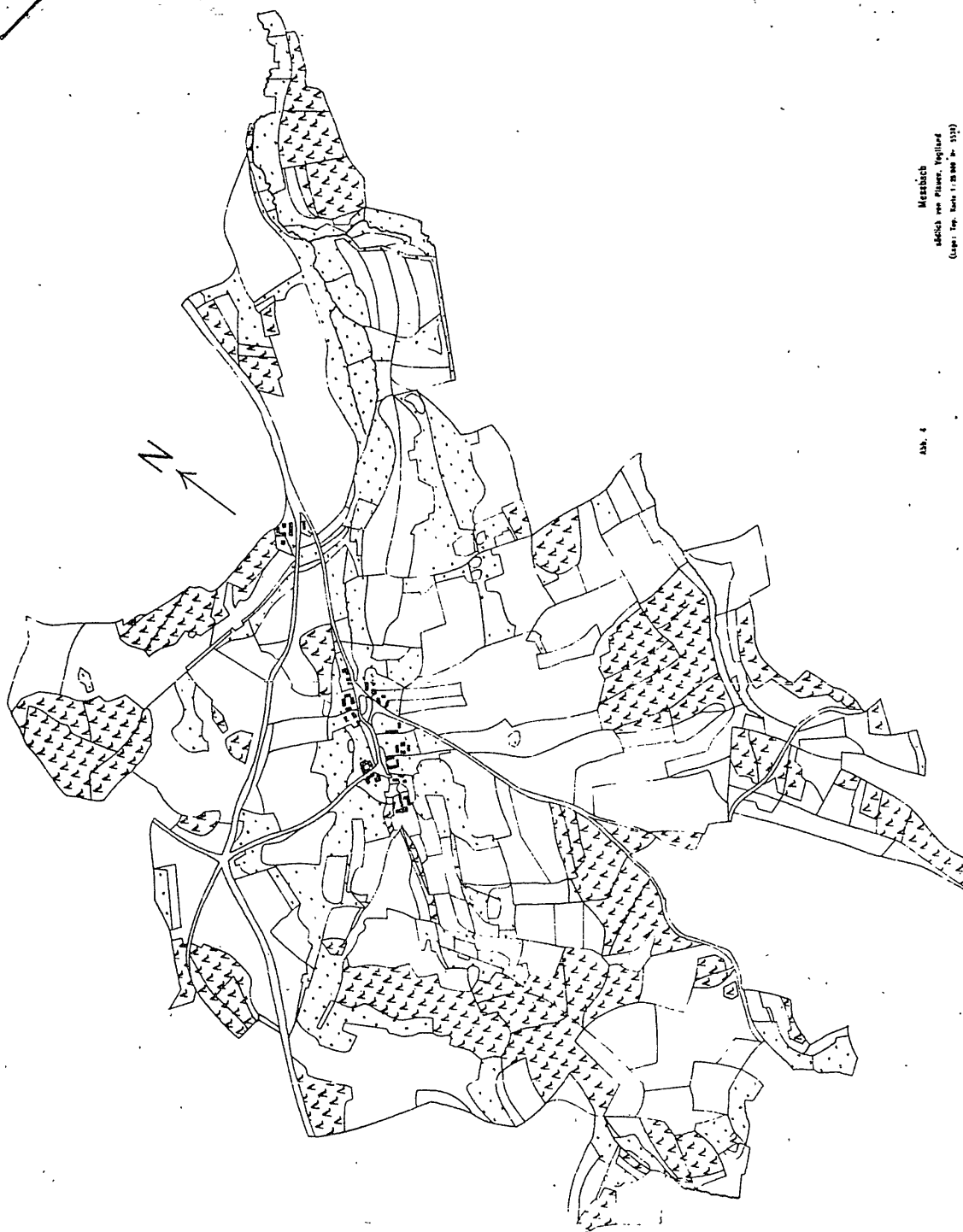


Fig.3

Zscharnitz

appr.1:9 700

today part of Storch, Northwest
of Bautzen, Upper Lusatia
(LocationL Top.Map 1: 25 000
No.475)



Messbach
adisch von Plauer, Tegelford
(Scale: 1:25,000 No. 555)

Abb. 4

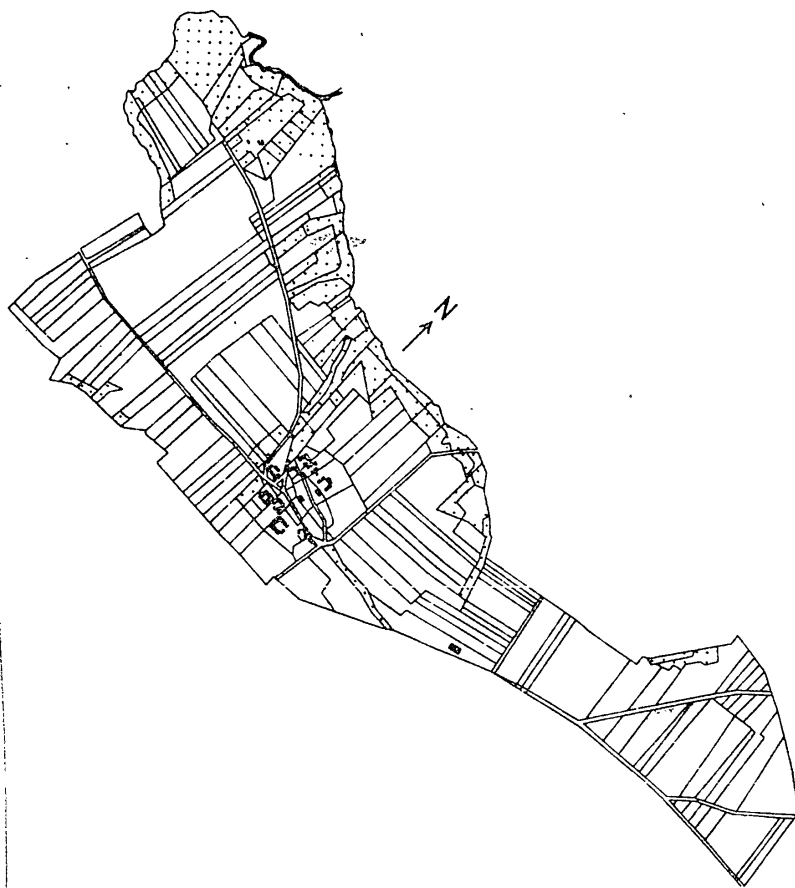


Fig.5

Zollschwitz

appr. 1 : 15 000

Northeast of Leipzig, Lommatzsch
Region (Location: Top. Map 1 ; 25 000
no. 4843)

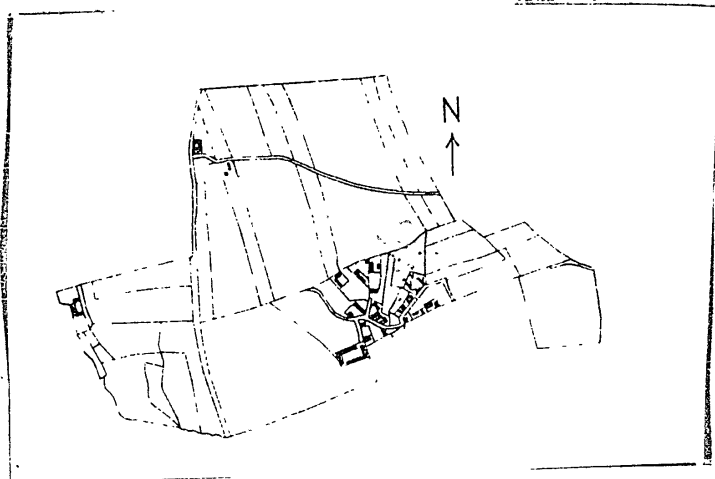


Fig.6

Grepta

appr. 1 : 13 100

Southwest of Lommatzsch, Re-
gion of Lommatzsch (location:
Top. Map 1 : 25 000, no. 4845)

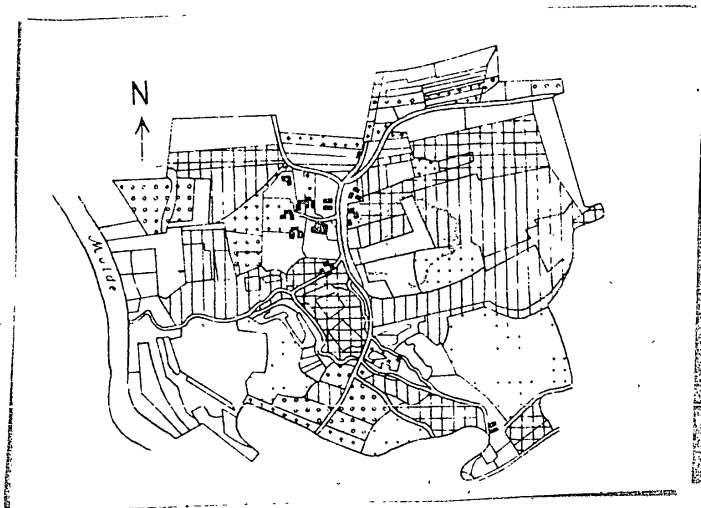


Fig.7

Biesern

appr. 1 : 13 200

South of Rochlitz
(Location: Top. Map. 1 : 25 000
No. 4942)

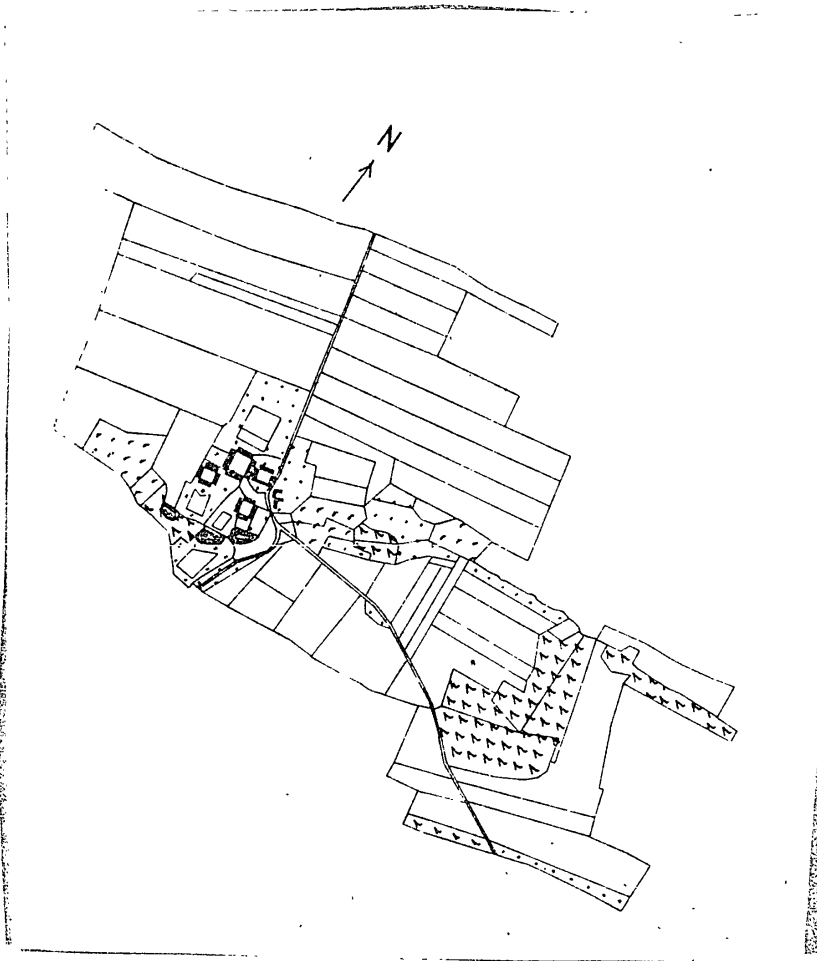


Fig.8

Poititz

appr. 1 : 12 400

West of Lommatzsch, Region
of Lommatzsch (Location:
Top. Map 1 : 25 000, no.4845)

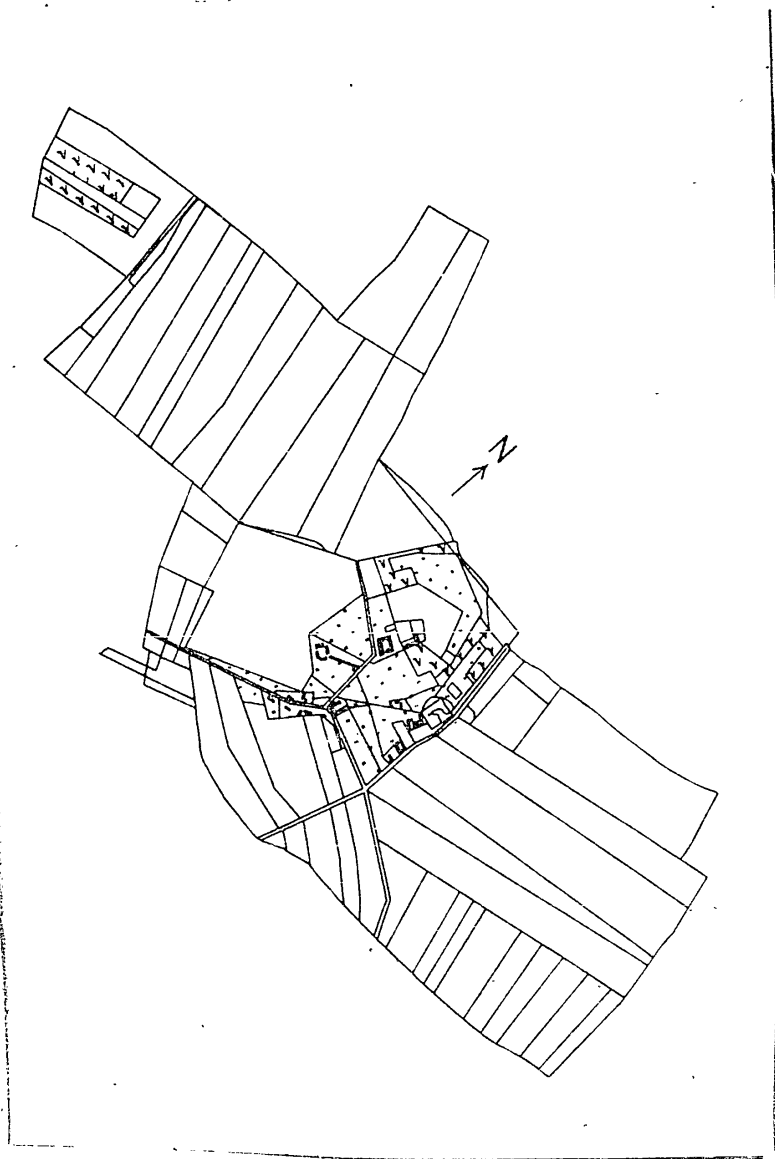


Fig.9

Neckanitz

appr. 1 : 12 300

West of Lommatzsch, Region
of Lommatzsch (Location: Top.
Map 1 : 25 000, no.4845)

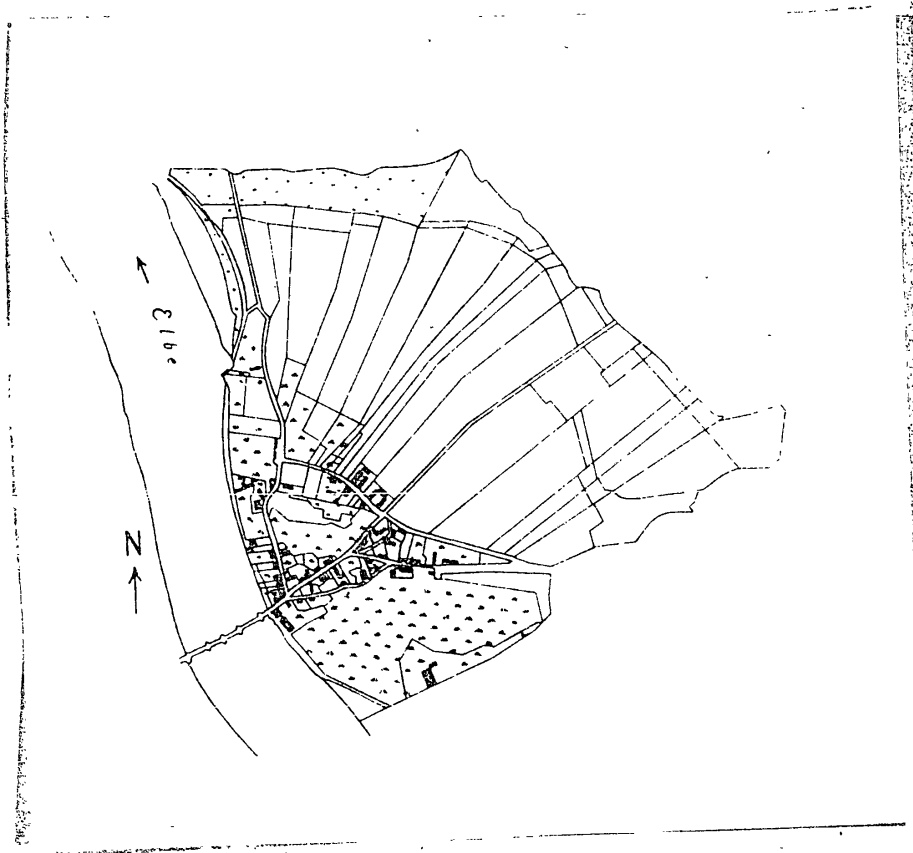


Fig. 10

Niederfahre

appr. 1 : 11 900

today part of Meissen (Lo-
cation: Top.Map 1 : 25 000
No.4846)

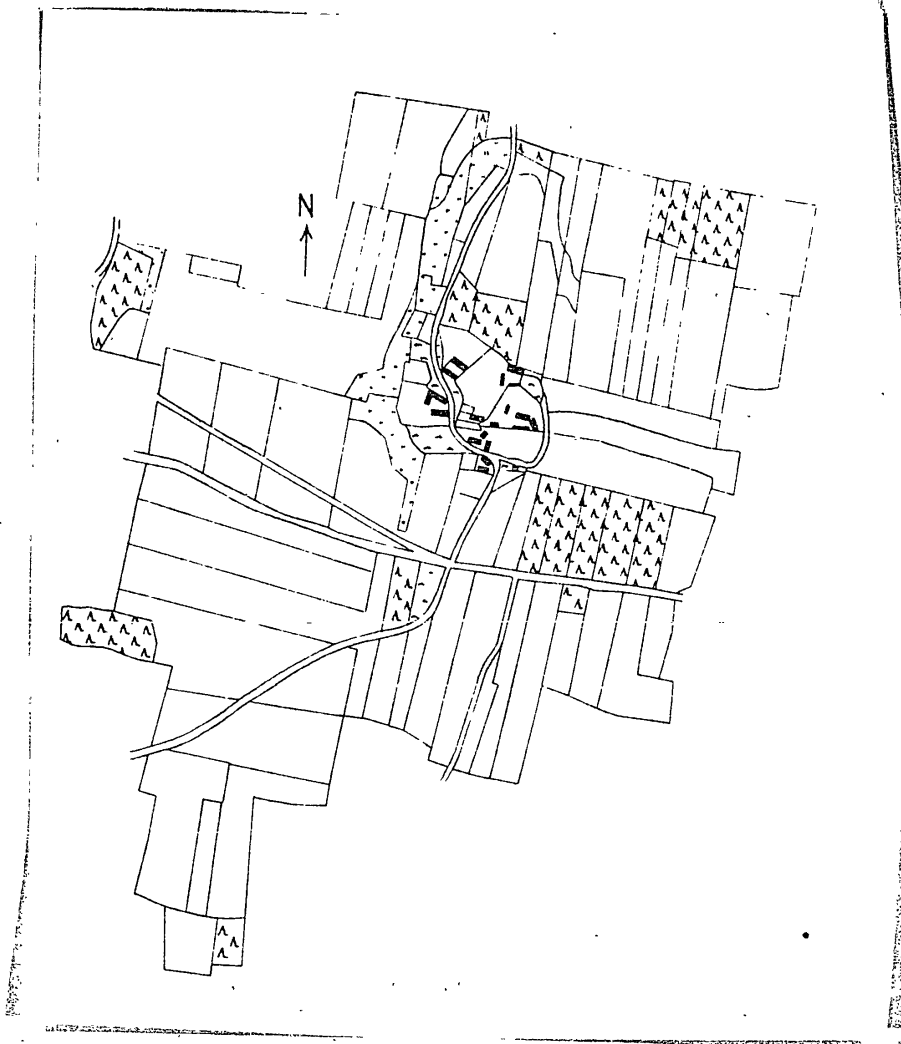


Fig. 11

Passditz

appr. 1 : 10 000

today part of Storchha, North-
West of Bautzen
(Location: Top. Map 1 : 25 000
No. 4751)

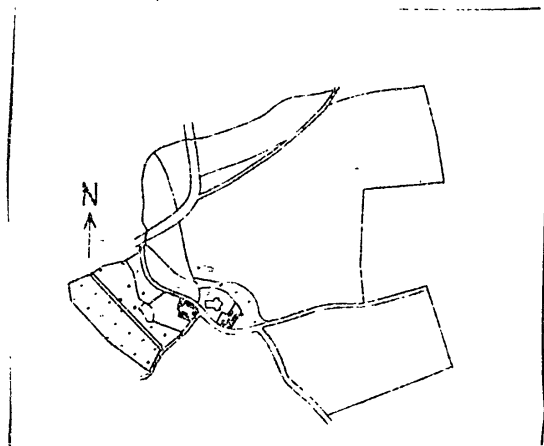


Fig. 12

Magdeborn

appr. 1 : 11 600

near Goehren, Southeast of
Leipzig
(Location: Top. Map 1 : 25 000
No. 4740)

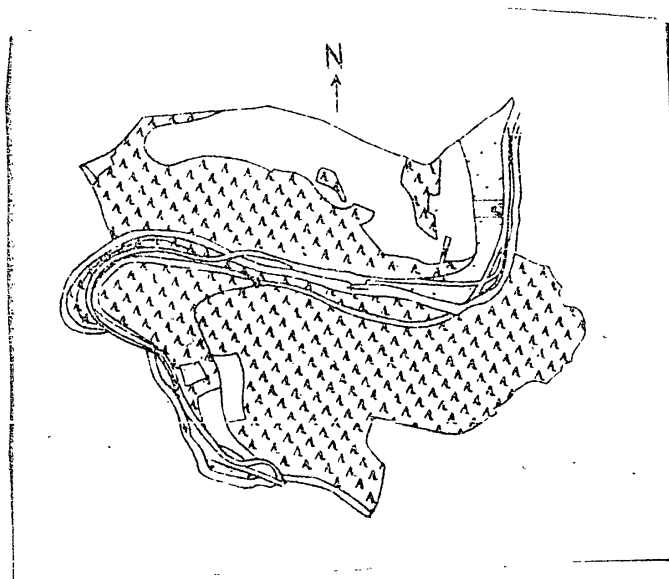


Fig. 13

Hammergut Gleissberg

appr. 1:11 900

(estate of the hammerworks of
Gleissberg)
near Glashuette, South of Dippoldis-
walde
(Location: Top. Map 1 : 25 000,
No. 5148)

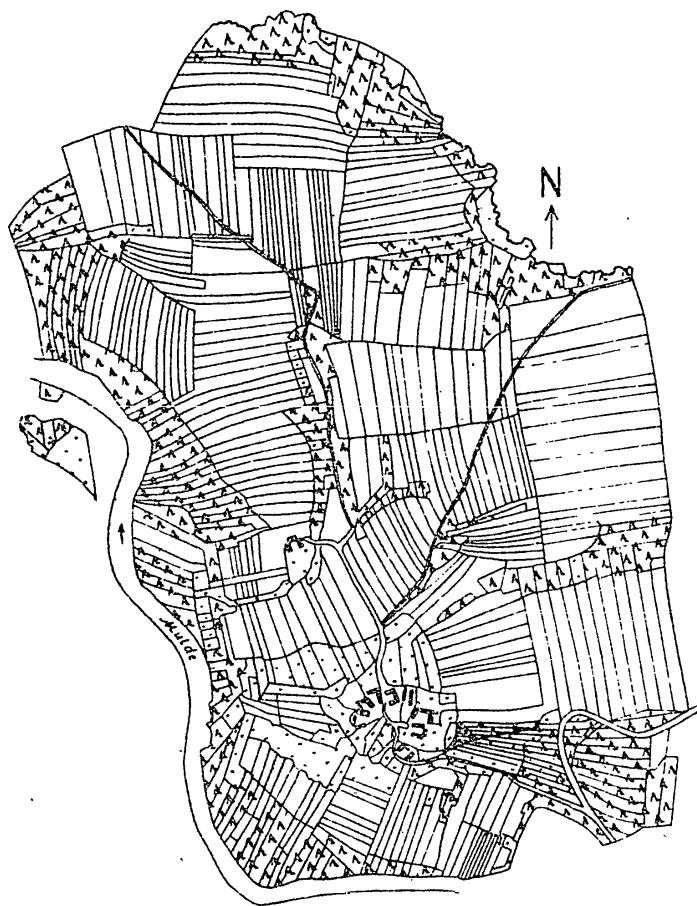


Fig. 14

Stoebnig

appr. 1 : 11 900

Northeast of Rochlitz
(Location: Top. Map 1:25 000
No. 4942)

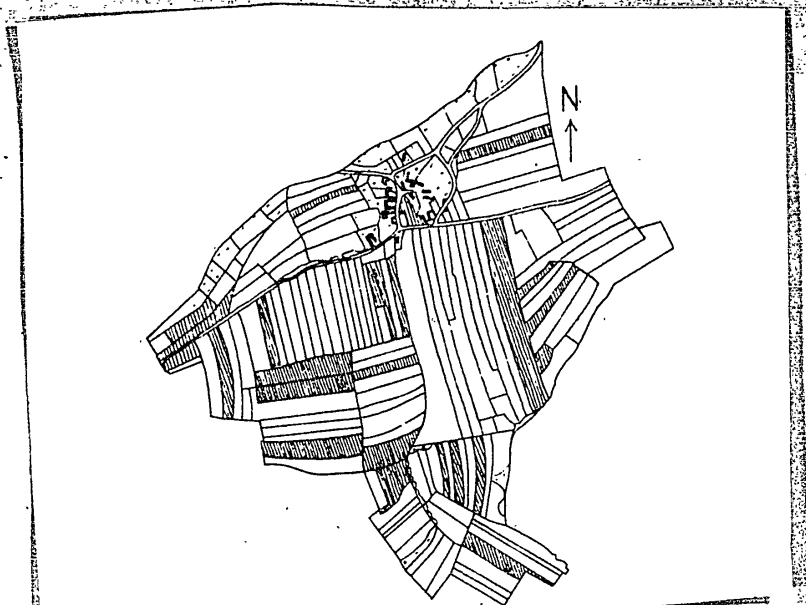


Fig. 15

Gostriz

appr. 1 : 16 500

today part of Dresden
(Location: Top. Map 1:25 000
No.4948)

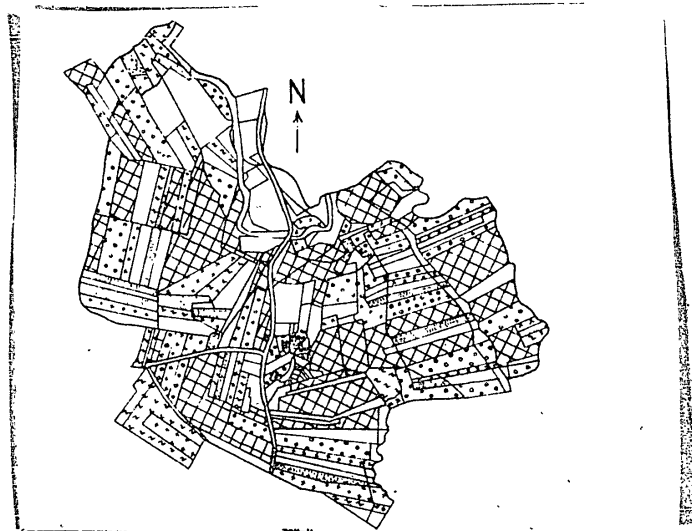


Fig. 16

Zoellnitz

appr. 1 : 14 000

South of Rochlitz
(Location: Top. Map
1 : 25 000, No.4942)

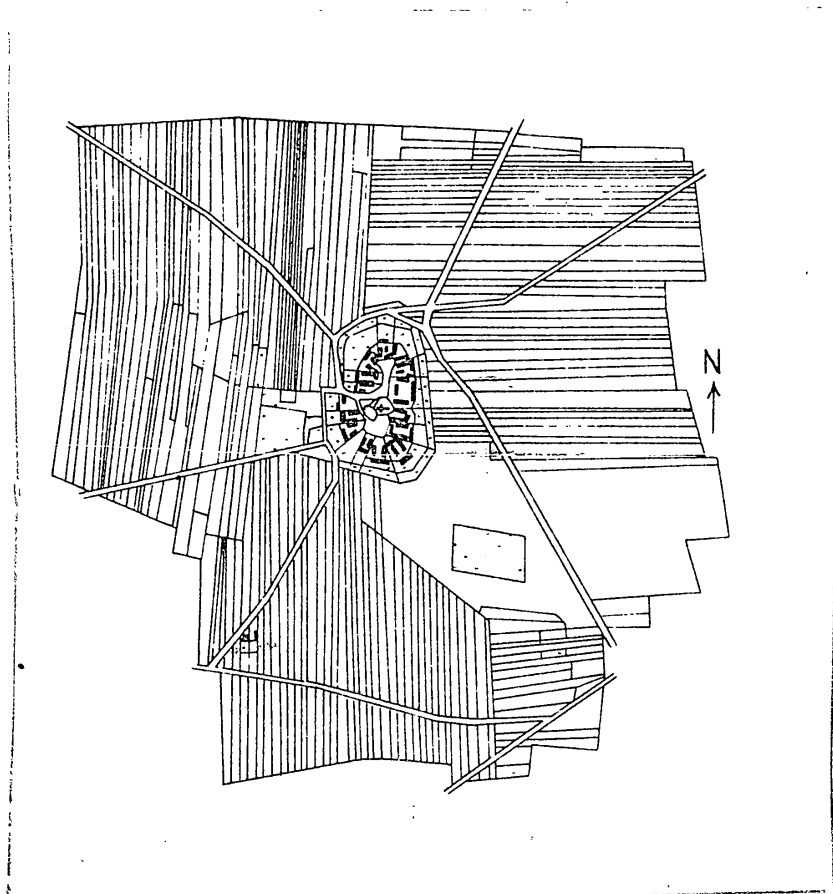


Fig. 17

Gottscheina

appr. 1 : 14 300

near Taucha, Northeast of
Leipzig
(Location: Top. Map 1:25 000
No.4540)

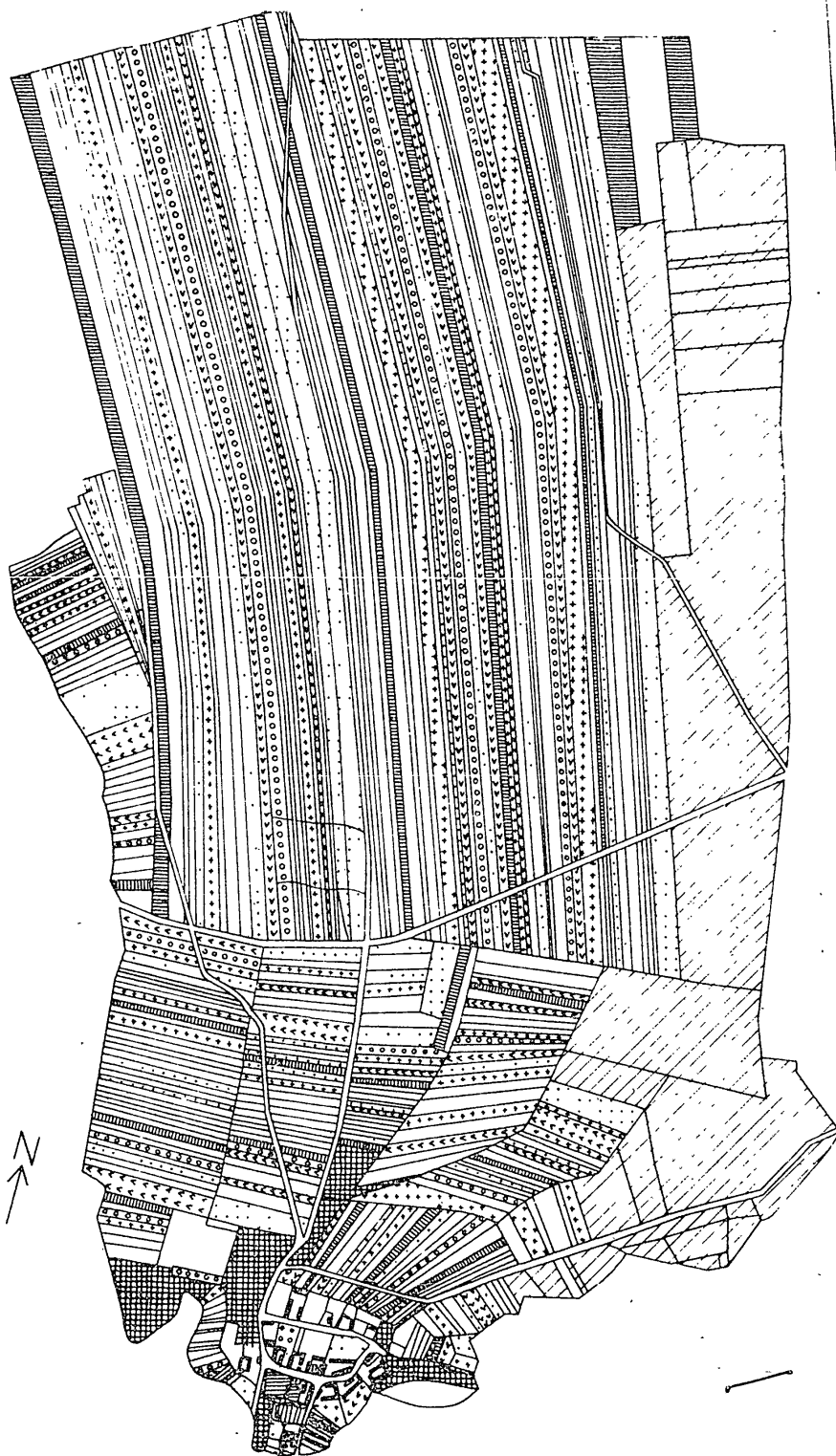


Fig. 18

Ploesen

today part
of Leipzig-
Mekla

appr. 1:10 000

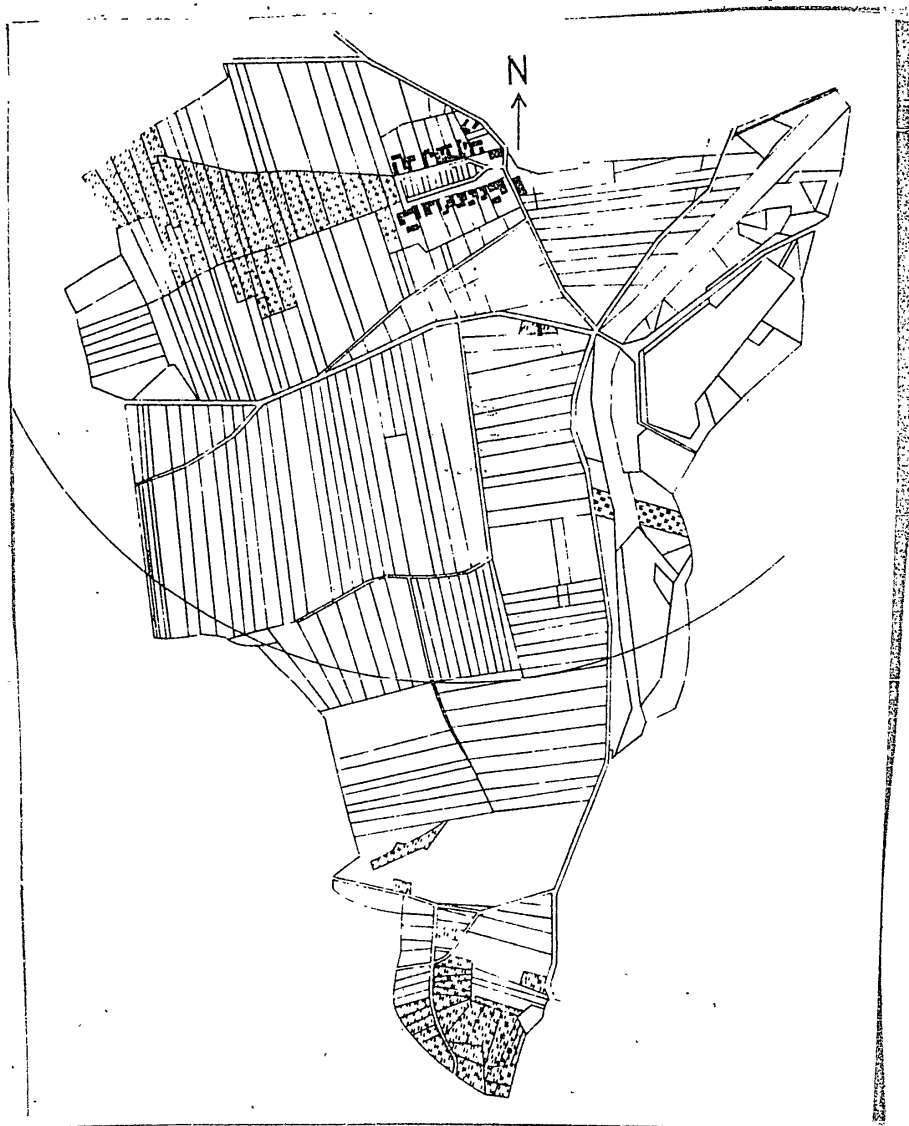


Fig. 19

Loebtau

appr. 1 : 13 000

today part of Dresden
(Location: Top. Map
1 : 25 000, no.4948)

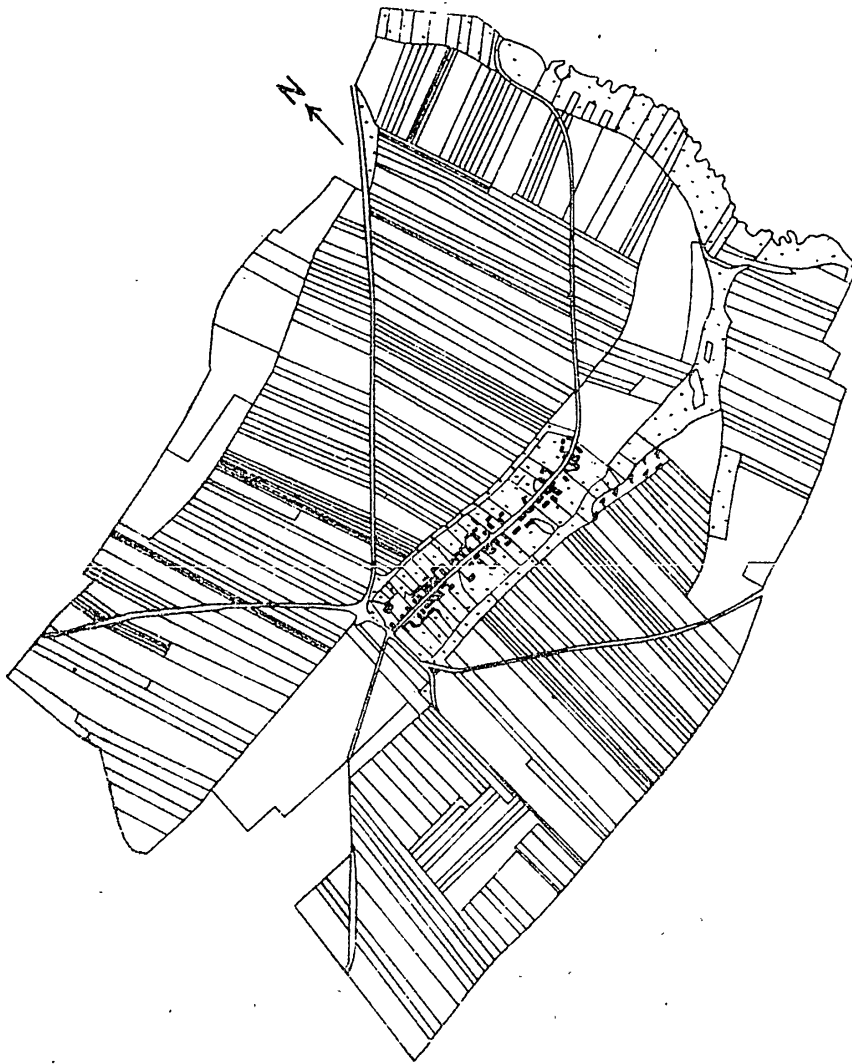
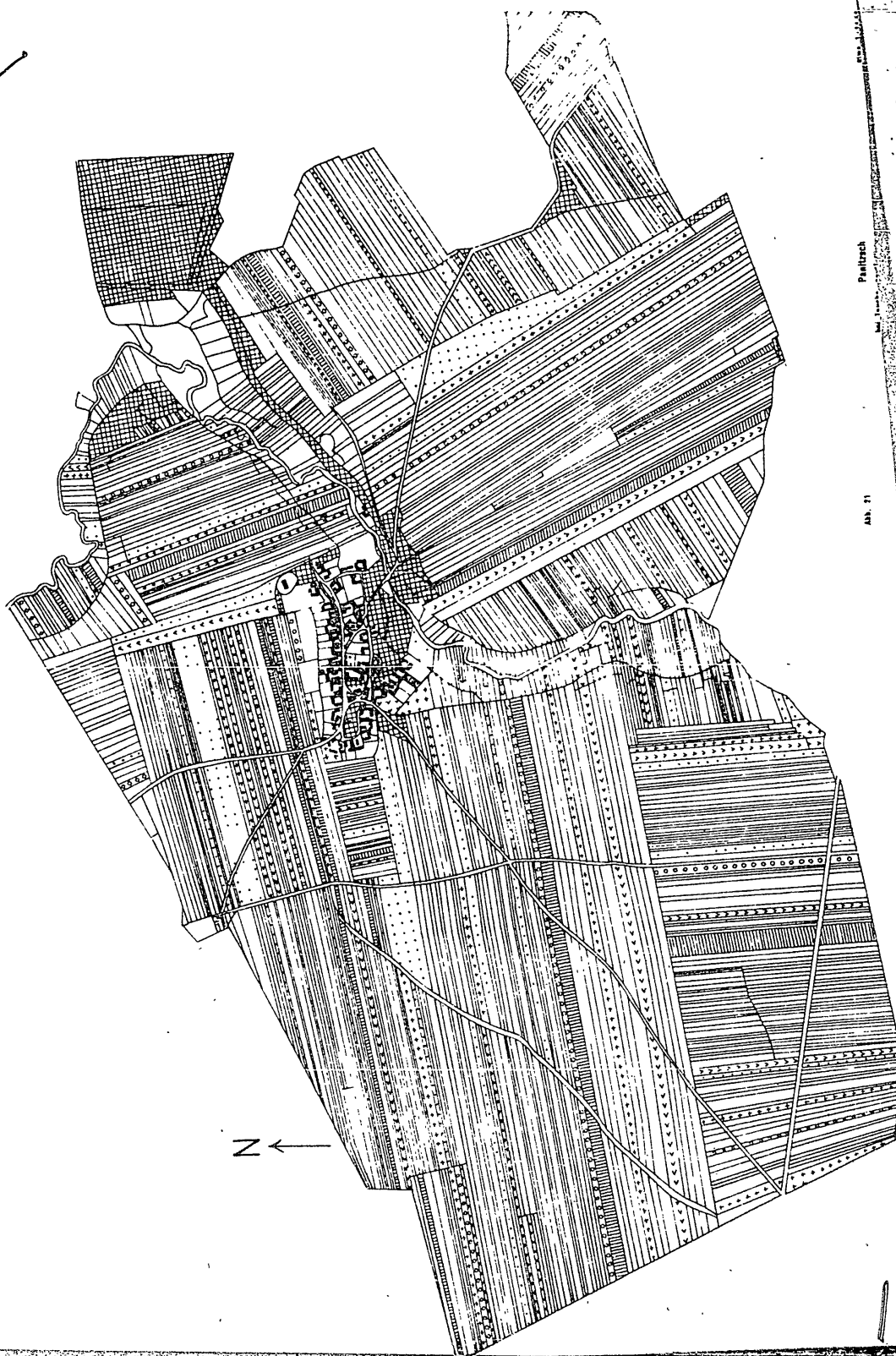


Fig. 20

Frankenheim

appr. 1 : 11 900

near Miltiz, West of Leipzig
(Location: Top. Map, no. 3639)



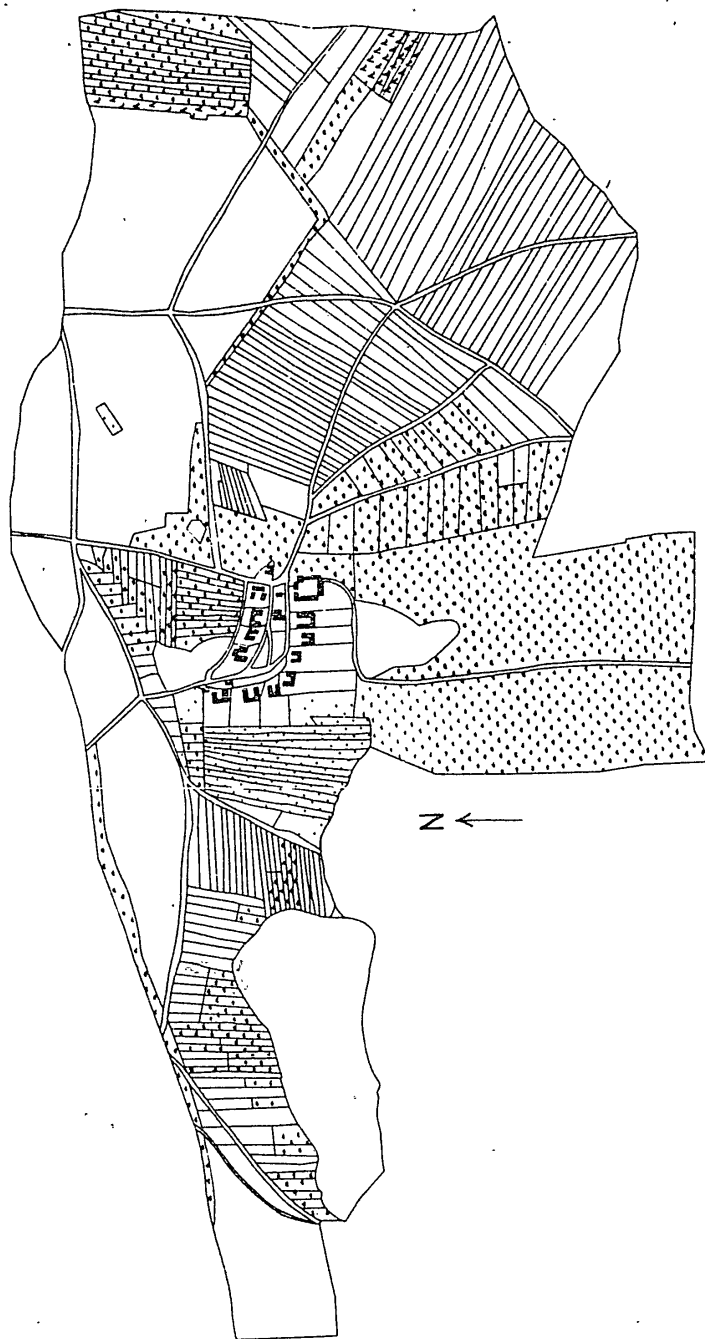


Fig.22

Northeast of Grossenhain
(Location: Top. Map 1:25 000
No.4647)

500

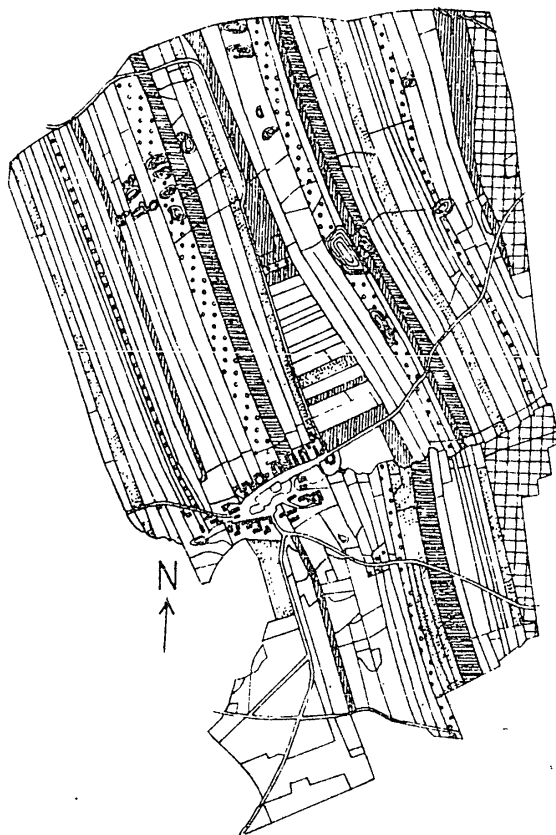


Fig.23

Burkersdorf

appr. 1 : 13 300

Northeast of Schleiz
(Location: Top.Map
1 : 25 000,no.5337)

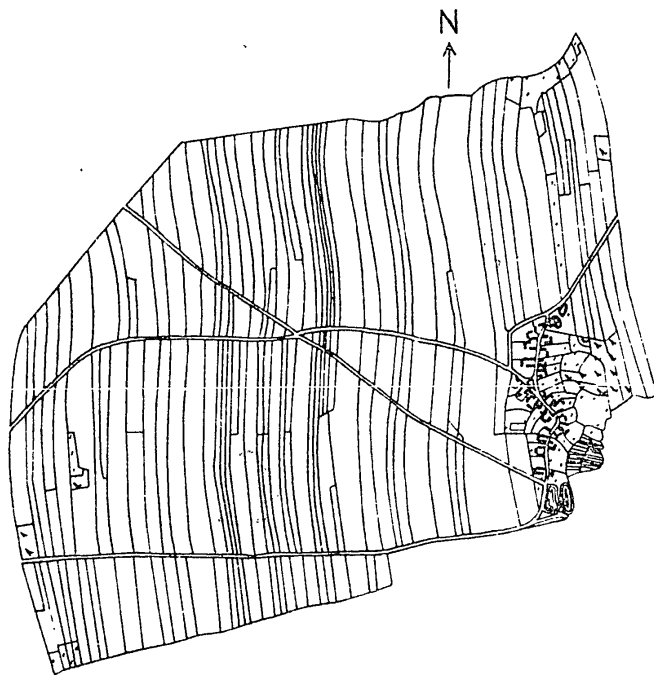


Fig.24

Heuersdorf

appr. 1 : 16 500

near Kieritzsch, Northwest of
Borna (Location: Top. Map
1 : 25 000, no. 4840)

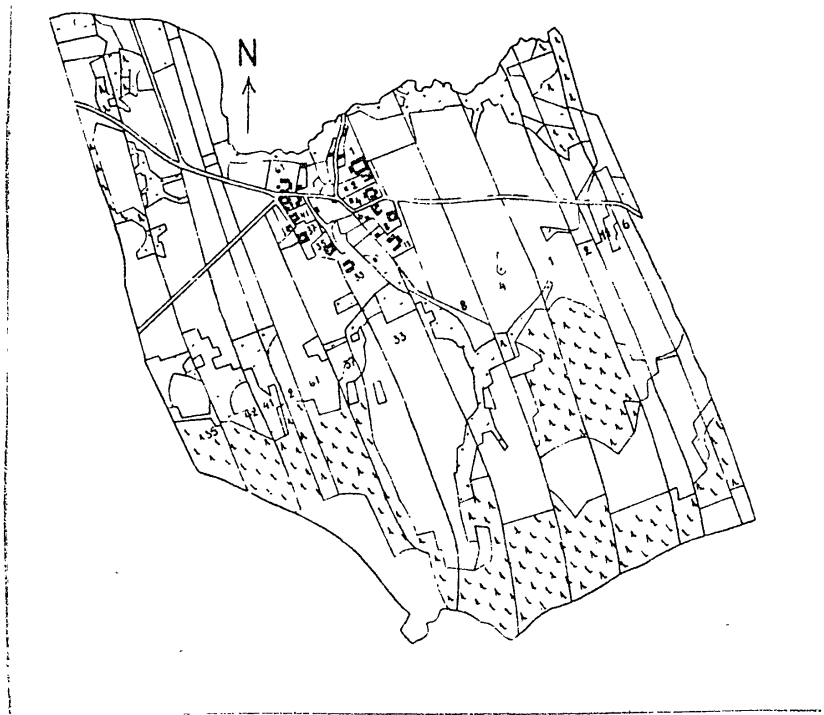


Fig. 25

Hilmsdorf

appr. 1 : 18 500

near Geringswalde, Northeast
of Rochlitz (Location: Top.
Map 1 : 25 000, no. 4843)

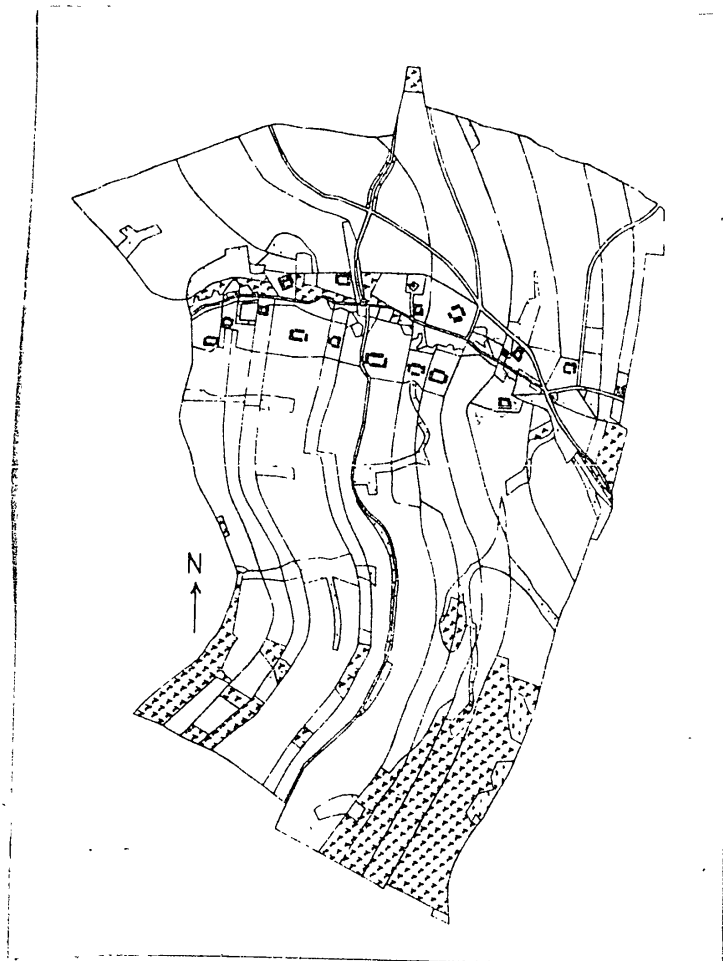


Fig. 26

Sora

appr. 1 : 16 000

near Wilsdruff, West of Dres-
den (Location: Top. Map
1 : 25 000, no. 4946/4947)

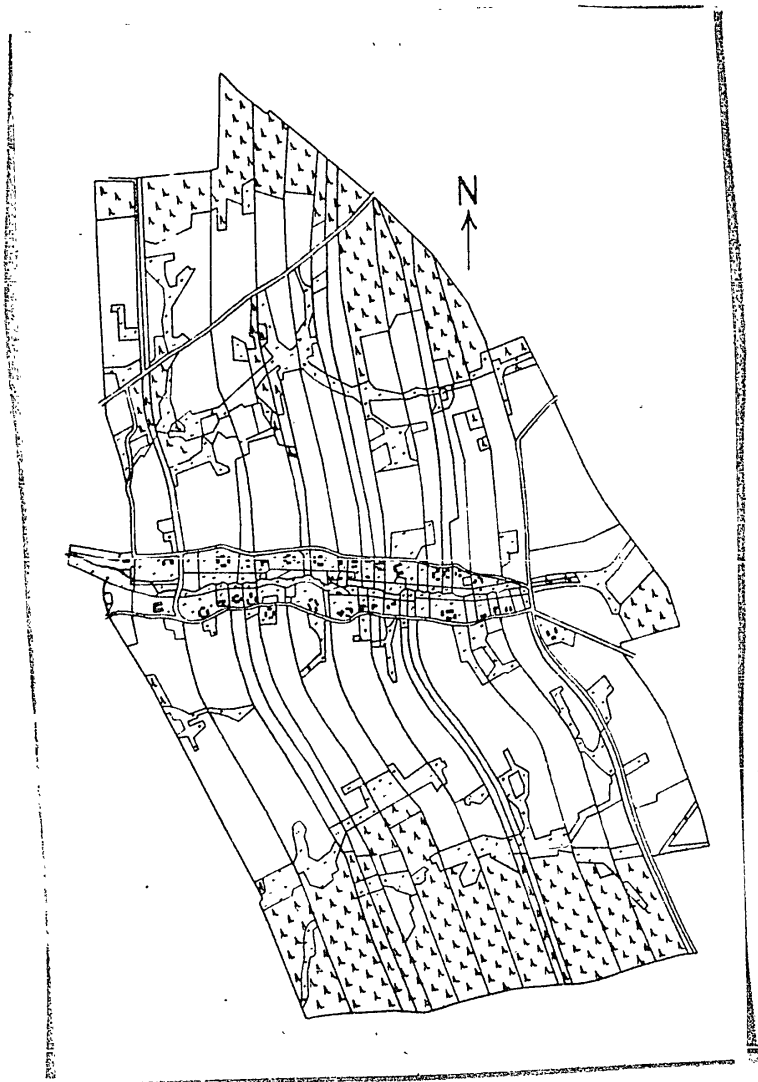
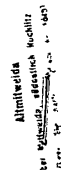


Fig. 27

Roellingshain

appr. 1 : 16 500

near Clausnitz, Southeast of
Rochlitz (LocationL Top. Map
1 : 25 000, no. 5043).



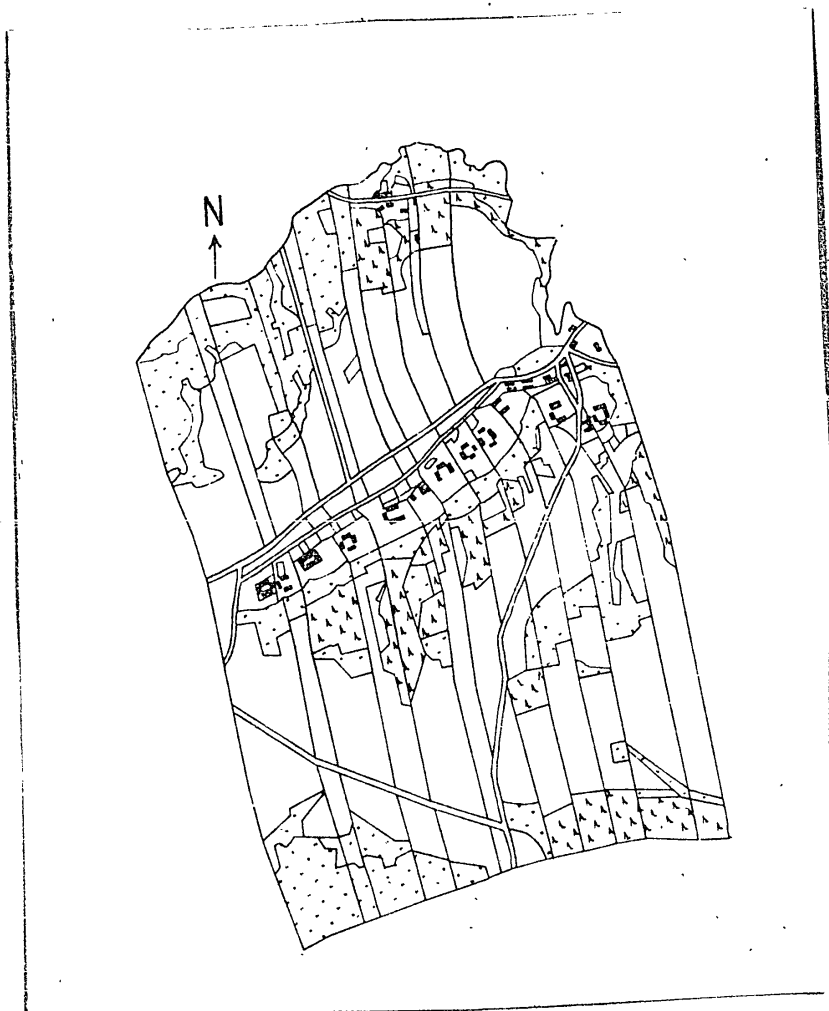


Fig. 29

Dittmannsdorf

appr. 1 : 13 500

near Geringswalde, Northeast
of Rochlitz (Location: Top.
Map 1 : 25 000, no. 4943)

-394-

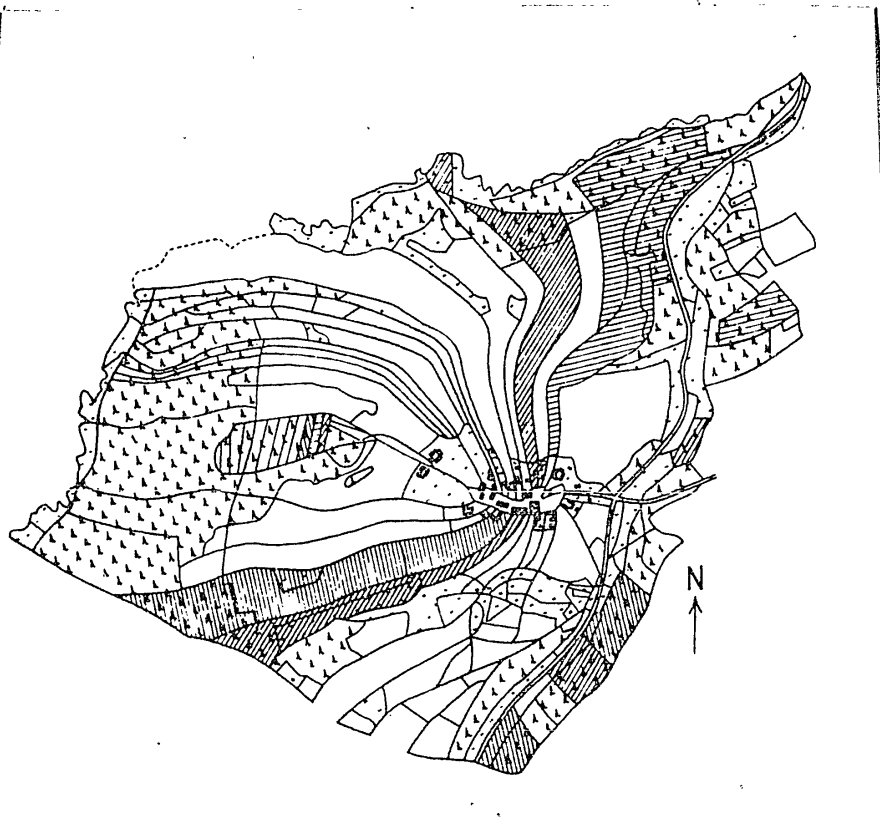


Fig. 30

Gunsdorf

appr. 1 : 18 200

near Elsterberg, North of
Plauen (Location: Top. Map
1 : 25 000, no. 5438)

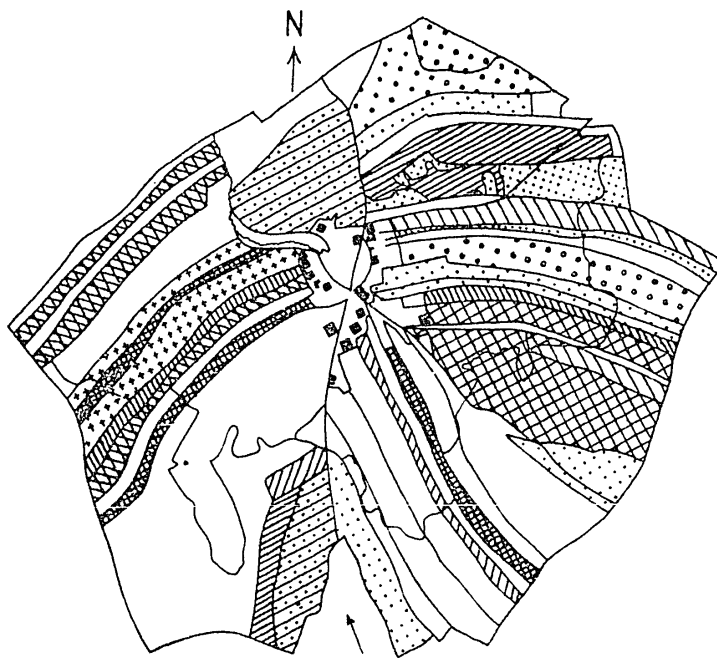


Fig.31

Bockendorf

appr. 1 : 36 000

near Hainichen, South of Doe-
beln (Location: Top. Map
1 : 25 000, no.5044/5045)

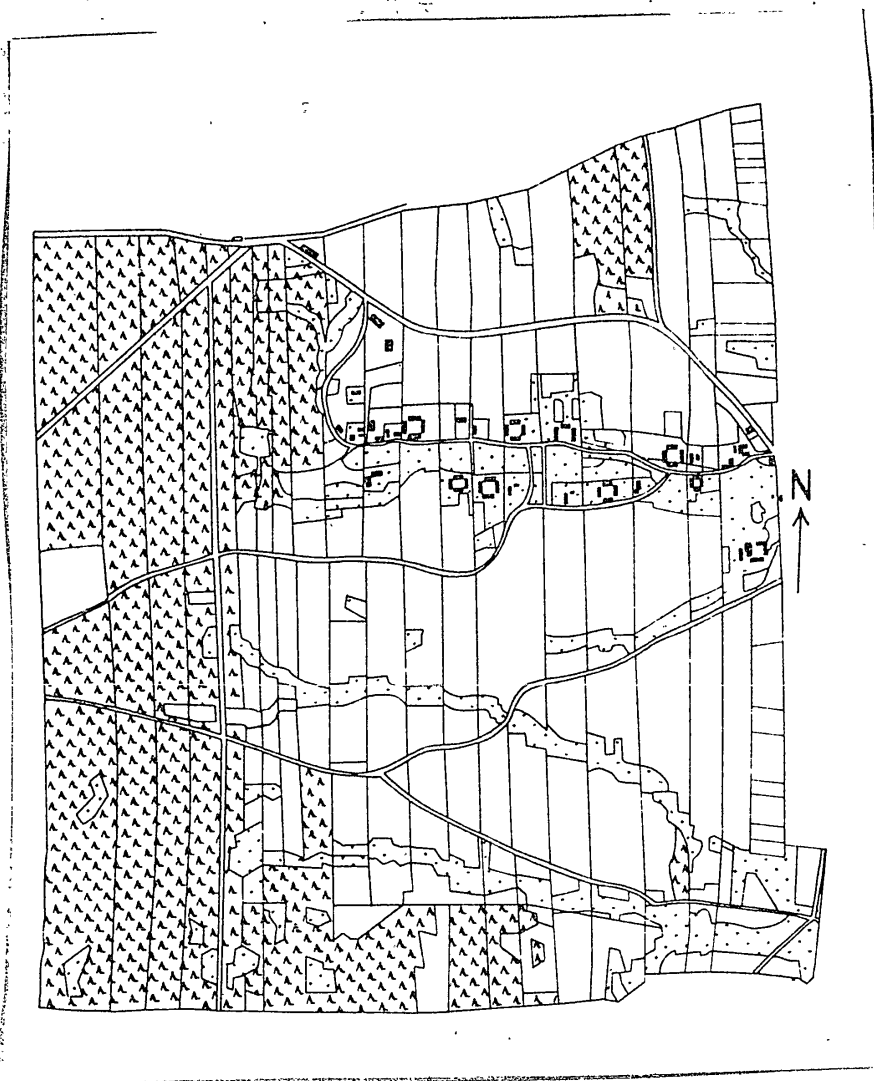


Fig. 32

Flemmingen

appr. 1 : 13 000

near Geringswalde, Northeast
of Rochlitz (Location: Top.
Map 1 : 25 000, no. 4843/4943)

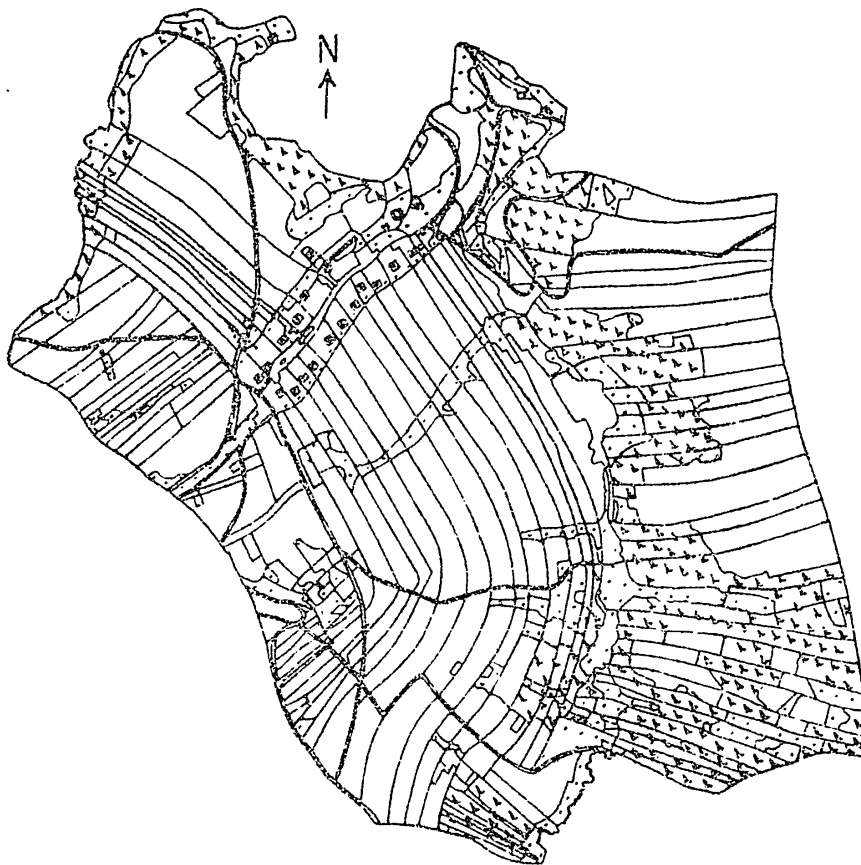


Fig. 33

Offendorf

appr. 1 : 19 200

near Hainichen, South of Doe-
beln (Location: Top. Map
1 : 25 000, no. 5054)

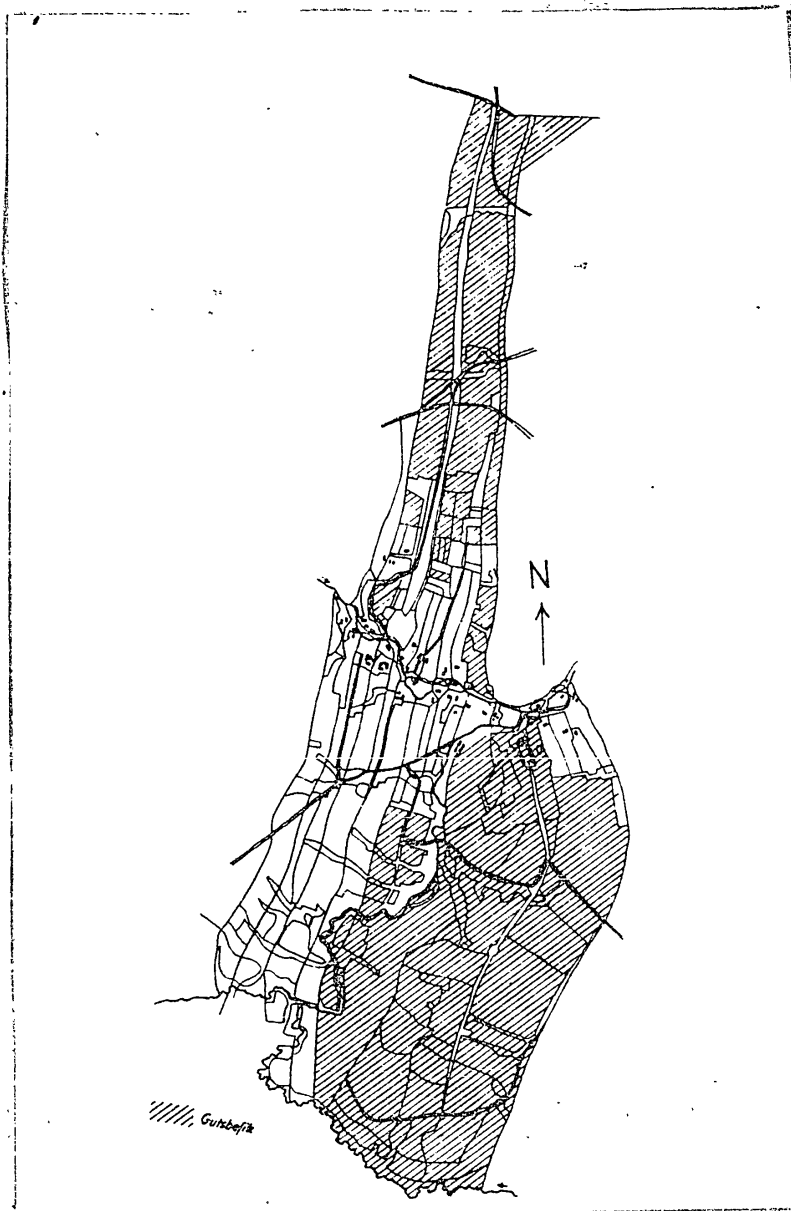


Fig. 34

Ueberrennersdorf

appr. 1 : 25 000

near Herrnhut, Southeast of
Loebau (Location: Top. Map
1 : 25 000, no. 4954)

Gutsbesitz - estate property

349-

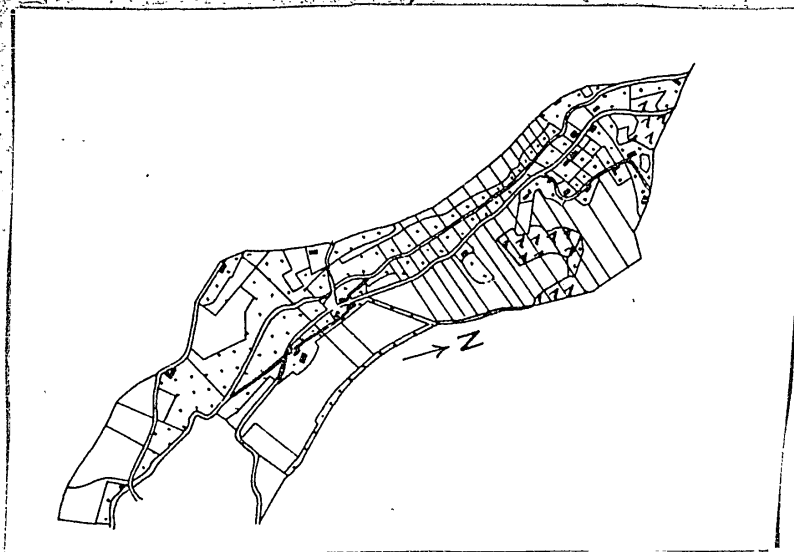


Fig. 35

Rehefeld

appr. 1 : 11 900

near Hermsdorf, South of
Dippoldiswalde (Location:
Top. Map 1 : 25 000, no. 5248)

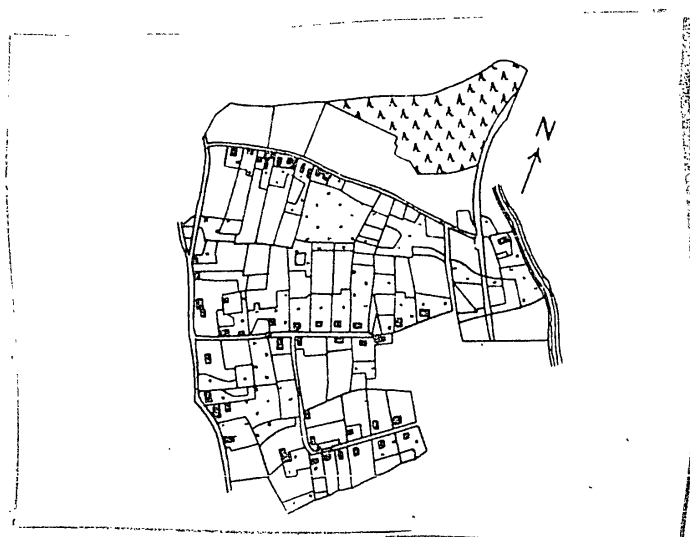


Fig. 36

Neue Welt

appr. 1 : 10 000

Part of Schwarzenberg
(Location: Top. Map
1 : 25 000, no. 5142)

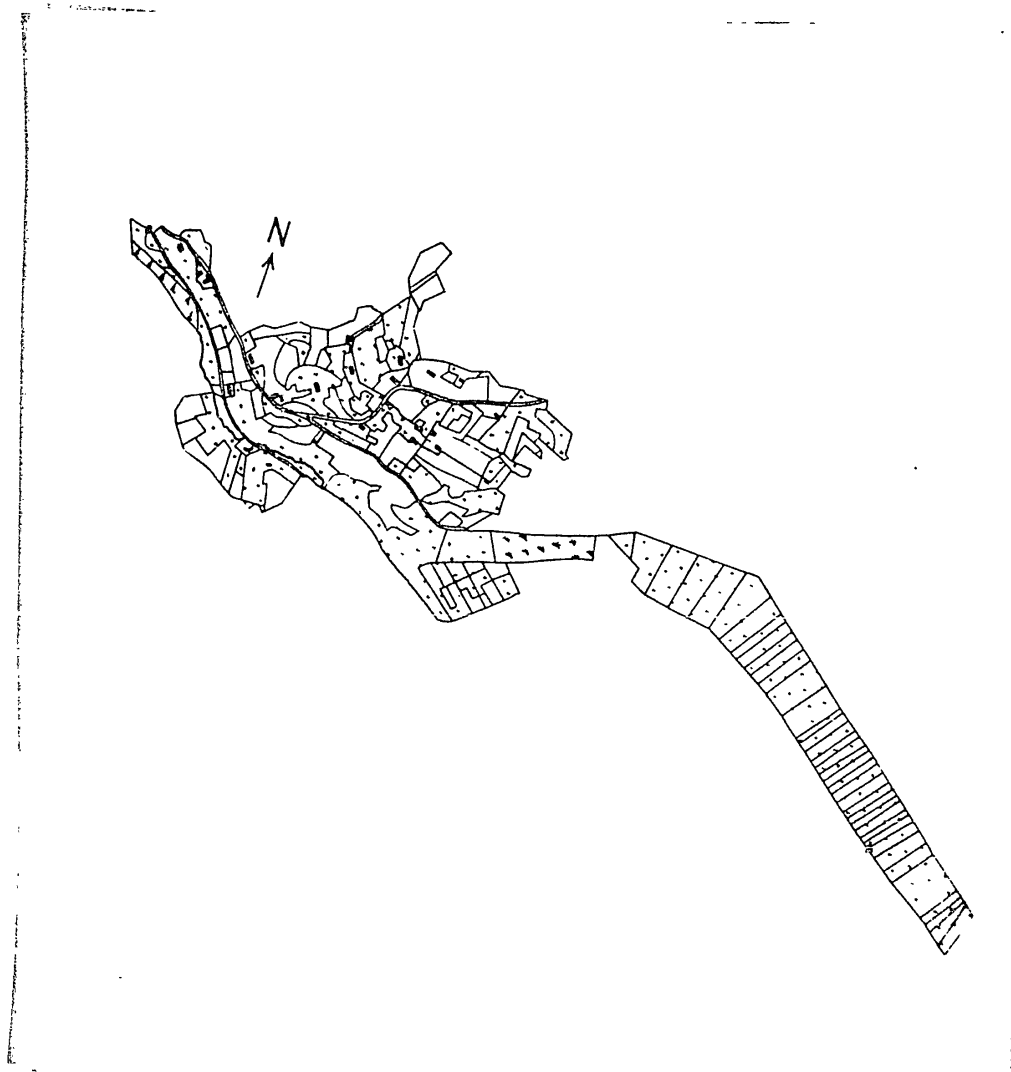


Fig. 37

Gottesberg

appr. 1 : 11 900

near Jaegersgruen, South of Auer-
bach (Location: Top. Map 1:25 000
no. 5540)

- 351 -

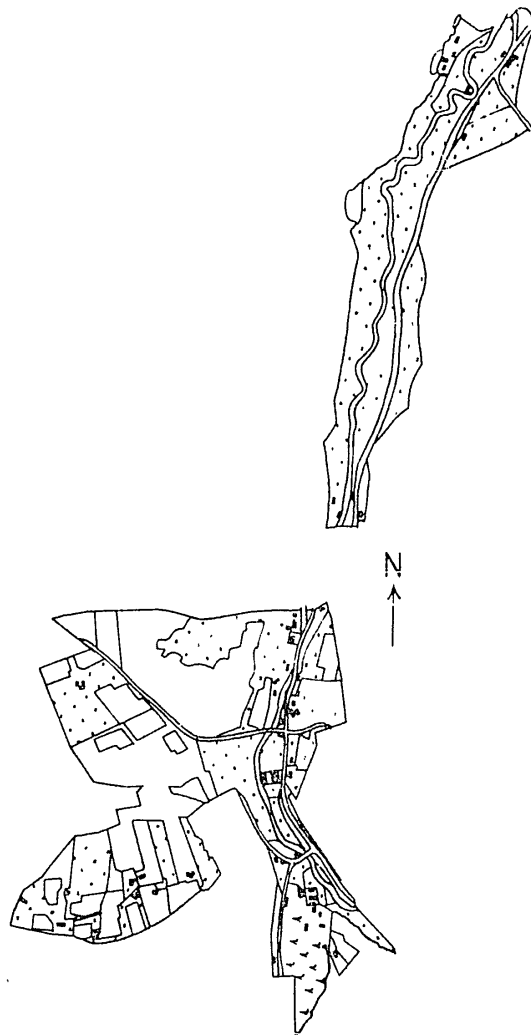


Fig. 38

Tannenbergsthal

appr. 1 : 12 500

near Jaegersgruen, Southeast
 of Borna (Location: Top. Map
 1 : 25 000, no 5540)

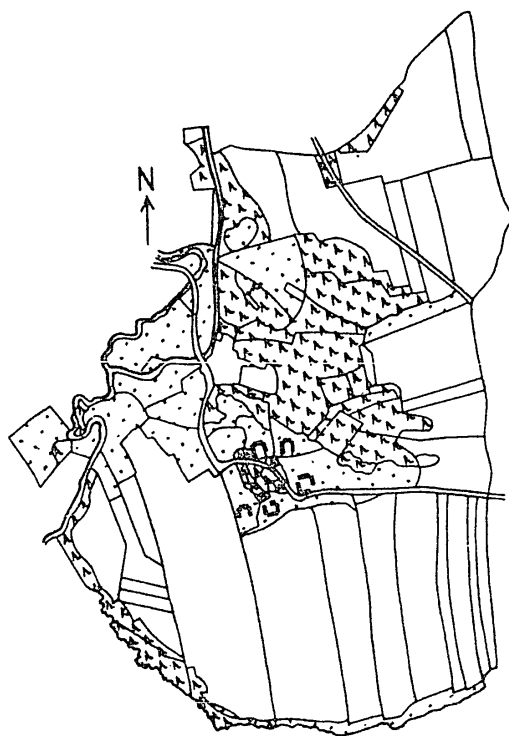
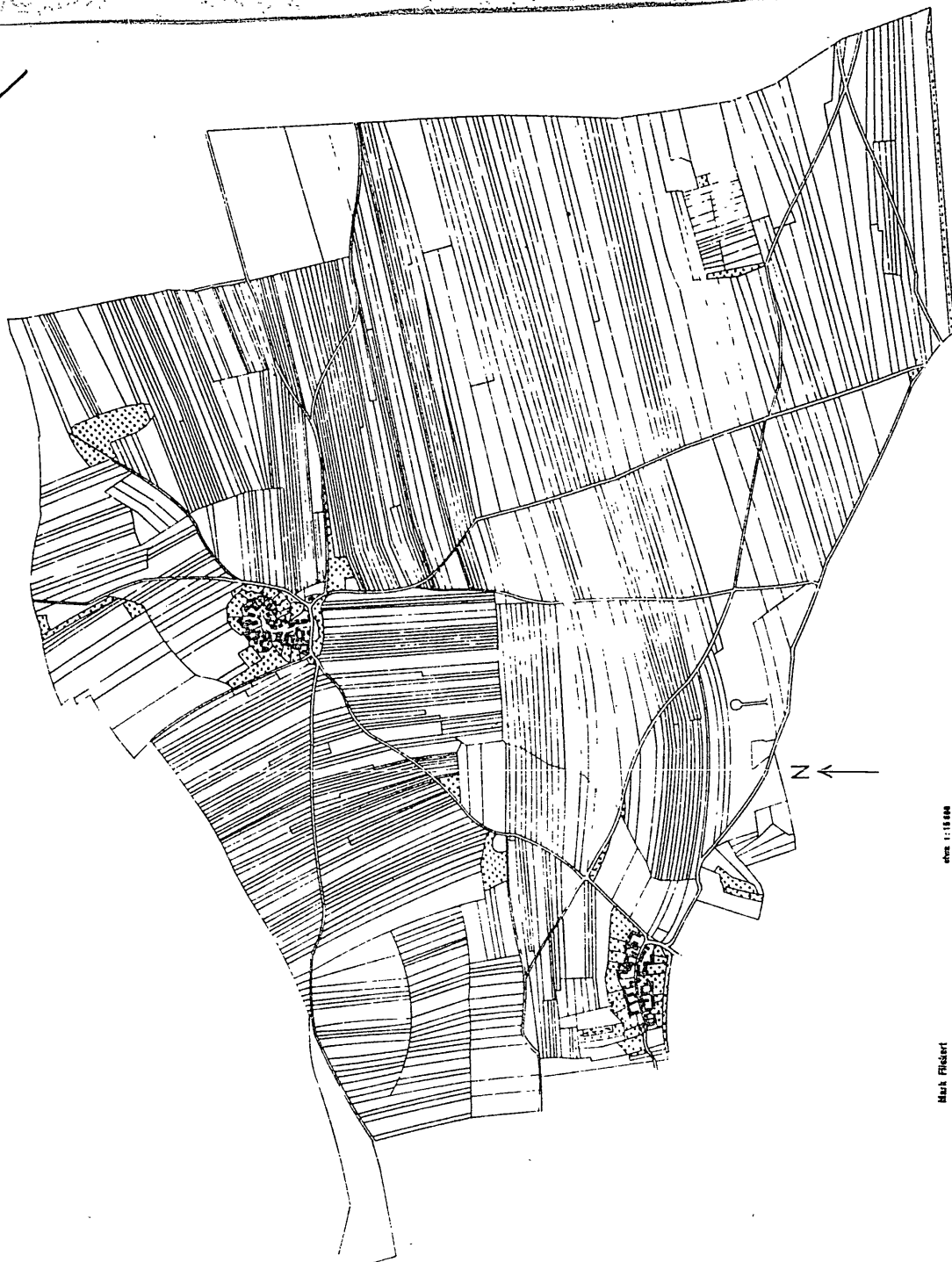


Fig. 39

Wuestenhain

appr. 1 : 11 500

near Konren, Southeast of Bor-
na (Location: Top. Map 1:25 000
No. 4941)



Scale 1:15 000

Mark Flickert
West of Lausen and south of Goehren, westlich von Leipzig
(Copy Map. Scale 1:25 000 in. 1:25 000 47a)

Fig. 40

Mark Flickert

appr. 1:15 000

West of Lausen and South of Goehren,
West of Leipzig (Location: Top. Map
1 : 25 000, no. 4639/4739)